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Gershon David Hundert

The Jews in a Polish Private Town

The Case of Opatów in the Eighteenth Century

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The Jews in a Polish Private Town

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The Jews in a Polish Private Town

The Case of Opatów in the Eighteenth Century

Gershon David Hundert

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For Ruth

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Introduction

More than half of the Jews in the world lived in Poland-Lithuania in the eighteenth century, and roughly three-quarters of Polish Jewry lived in private holdings—villages and towns owned by powerful magnate-aristocrats. About two-thirds of the Jews in the Polish Commonwealth lived in towns. This means, then, that in the eighteenth century about one-quarter of the Jews in the world lived in Polish private towns like Opatów. The towns in which Jews lived tended to be small. However, it should be stressed that the characteristic form of urban settlement in Poland was the small town. Even at the end of the eighteenth century, not more than twelve Polish cities had populations of more than 10,000, while there were more than a thousand towns of 2,000 or fewer inhabitants. In 1700, almost two-thirds (64 percent) of these were private towns. And, in the eighteenth century, roughly half of the entire urban population of Poland was Jewish.[1]

Clearly, the study of Jews in Polish towns, and private towns in particular, is central both to Jewish history and the history of Poland-Lithuania. And the topic of Jews in private towns opens the crucial issue of the relations between Jews and the great magnate-aristocrats. In the Polish Commonwealth there were three centers of power: the gentry (*szlachta*), the monarch, and the magnate-aristocrats.[2] The gentry was a large heterogeneous group comprising between 8 and 10 percent of the population and must not be seen as a social class. Nevertheless, in theory, all members of the *szlachta* were equal, and they considered themselves to be, collectively, the only true Poles. The great magnate-aristocrats, belonging to a fluctuating group of about twenty families in each generation, not only held positions of power in the state but controlled vast estates and private armies. During at least the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, the relative power and influence of the magnates increased at the expense of the crown and the *szlachta.* In these

conditions, the nature of the association between Jews and the magnates becomes vital to an understanding of the period.

THE JEWS OF POLAND

In an elegiac essay, first published in the early years of the Second World War, Benzion Dinur characterized the Polish Jewish community as having taken a form approaching national statehood, with the Torah as its constitution. Polish Jews saw their autonomous institutions as the source of "a little redemption and a bit of honour."[3] Indeed, although originating in medieval Ashkenazic forms, those institutions achieved in Poland a unique degree of ramification, elaboration, and durability. Each Jewish community (*qehilla*) was led by a governing body called the kahal (*qahal*). The kahal's authority extended also to Jews living in the villages surrounding the town. There were regional councils (*vaʿadei galil*) and these, in turn, were associated with the Council of the Lands, often called the Council of Four Lands, which included representatives from all over Poland.[4] While the local kahal was more or less analogous to a municipal government, the regional and national councils were concerned mainly with the apportionment and collection of the taxes Jews paid to the Polish government. These bodies, however, also functioned as appellate courts and adopted rulings regarding a variety of other matters of importance to the Jewish collectivity, ranging from the economic to the political, spiritual, educational, and charitable.

The complex development of Jewish communal and intercommunal institutions can be attributed in part to the large number of Jews living in the Polish Commonwealth (reaching 750,000 by 1765) and in part to their occupational diversity. Jews engaged in a great variety of crafts and trades. They were prominent in commerce, in the various aspects of the textile industry, and in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. In many towns, as the economic downturn of the early decades of the eighteenth century worsened and more and more Christian residents turned to agriculture, Jews came to be virtually the only economically active element of the population. In this context, despite the small size of the settlements in which they lived, Jews were nevertheless an urban element of the population.

For the most part, Jews construed their reality in accordance with concepts mediated in their own languages and by their own culture and traditions. But that culture was hardly monolithic or rigid. There were mystics and there were rationalists; there were those who believed in the potency of demons and hobgoblins and those who did not; there were those who studied the Talmud and those who did not. The eighteenth century saw the persistence of the belief that Shabbetai Sevi was the messiah and the spread of kabbalistic ideas; the emergence of a vast movement of religious revival called (Beshtian) Has-

idism in the middle decades; and the beginnings of the percolation into Polish lands of ideas originating in the Enlightenment. Indeed, Jewish cultural isolation should not be exaggerated. Although Jews spoke Yiddish among themselves, knowledge of Polish and other European languages was not rare. A significant minority of Jews knew how to comport themselves in the courts of the great magnates and at the fairs in Leipzig and Breslau; they were not immune to the influence of the ideas and the styles of life of those among whom they lived. Jews and Christians did talk to each other, and not only for instrumental purposes.

For this reason, and because of their numerical and economic significance, the history of Polish Jews must be studied in the Polish context. The growing proportion of impoverished Jews in the eighteenth century must be seen, for example, as a consequence of the general economic downturn, particularly in the first four decades of the century, and of the economic transformations that began thereafter. The great modernizing trends of industrialization and urbanization, the small beginnings of which can be detected in late eighteenth-century Poland, had enormous consequences for the Jewish population. So many Jews were inextricably linked, in terms of their livelihoods, to the patronage of feudal lords, that these new developments had dire consequences for them.

Polish Jewish history in general, despite its obvious centrality, has been neglected in the growing field of Jewish historiography.[5] This is partly because the acquisition of the linguistic skills necessary is a daunting task. The main reason is, of course, that those who would naturally have taken up this subject were murdered by the Nazis during World War II. Moreover, historians in postwar Poland have not devoted much attention at all to the place of Jews in the historical experience of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[6] Indeed, Polish historians have tended to relegate Jews to the margins of that experience, even when this results, manifestly, in a distortion of history. Thus, histories of towns and townspeople neglect Jews even though Jews comprised, as mentioned, no less than half of the total urban population! Therefore, those few of us who do try to recover the Polish Jewish past need not explain our choice. The particular subject of this book, however, does demand explanation. Why Opatów?

WHY OPATÓW?

In the early decades of this century, it seems, a significant number of Jews from Opatów, and from the Kielce region in general, immigrated to Toronto. Although Toronto is where I was born and raised, I have no personal tie to the town of Opatów. But when I was doing the research for my doctoral dissertation, I found and used two or three documents related to Opatów.

That was the beginning of an association that has, at this writing, lasted more than seventeen years.

Located between Cracow and Lublin, Opatów is an ancient settlement in the region known as Małopolska (Little Poland); it is about thirty kilometers northwest of Sandomierz, near a small tributary of the Vistula River called the Opatówka. The estate (*klucz*)—that is, the town with its thirteen villages—had belonged to the church for several centuries when it was sold, in 1518, to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (1467–1532), chancellor of the Polish crown. Since, in Poland, unlike medieval western Europe, Jews seldom lived in towns owned by churchmen, it is likely that Jews began to settle in Opatów shortly after its purchase by Szydłowiecki. Their numbers grew quickly, and Opatów became one of the leading Jewish communities in the Cracow-Sandomierz region. Although it suffered losses at the time of the Swedish invasion in the middle of the seventeenth century, by the eighteenth century, Apt, as Jews called Opatów, became known as "a large and famous city [that] rules over numerous towns in its vicinity, being their metropolis."[7]

Opatów, nevertheless, has barely been mentioned in Polish Jewish historiography, and some of the leading historians who did mention it erred in their references. Thus, Simon Dubnow placed the town in Podolia, and Majer Bałaban wrote that it belonged to the crown, when in fact, Opatów was a private town.[8] Opatów does not appear in the index to Dubnow's *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. The town is worthy of more attention. In 1765, it was one of the eleven Jewish communities in Poland with a population of more than 2,000.[9] Perhaps because it began to lose its importance as early as the 1770s, historians have paid it little heed. More consideration of the town is warranted, not only because of its size, but for other reasons as well.

From the midseventeenth century and through much of the eighteenth century, Opatów was the "capital" of one of the preeminent Jewish families of east central Europe. The importance and the influence of the Landaus was not limited to Opatów, where they dominated the kahal; their presence was felt as well in the regional (*galil*) institutions of Jewish autonomy, particularly in Little Poland, Ruthenia, and the Council of the Lands. Members of the family occupied important lay and rabbinic offices and formed marriage ties with others in similar positions from Tykocin (Tiktin) to Hamburg and Prague, and from Międzyrzecz in Podlasie to Lwów and Cracow. They were particularly prominent in the Cracow-Sandomierz region and had strong links to Brody as well. The influence and role of families like the Landaus has not been treated systematically in the historical literature.[10]

Precisely because Opatów was a private town, owned by a succession of leading Polish aristocratic families, the study of the policies of these owners vis-à-vis Jews, and the nature of Jewish dealings with them, provides a way to view the previously unstudied but pivotal topic of Jews in private towns

and, more broadly, the relations between Jews and Polish magnate-aristocrats. The tendency for Jews to live in private as opposed to royal towns, particularly from the sixteenth century onward, was a consequence, mainly, of the growing preponderance of such towns in the commonwealth and of the general factors that made them attractive to settlers. Moreover, in 1539, town owners replaced the monarch as the final authority over Jews in their estates.[11] This meant that attractive conditions could be offered to Jews as an inducement to settlement, since it was thought that their presence would stimulate the economy of the towns and, thus, the revenues of the owners.

While many crown towns excluded Jews, private towns seldom did so, with the exception of those owned by the clergy. The Christian bourgeoisie tended to be less able to forestall Jewish competition in private towns than in royal towns because of town owners, who generally acted pragmatically and, therefore, defended the interests of "their" Jews. To Jews it seemed that they would more likely find both occupational and physical security in private towns, and this, together with the fact that those towns were more prosperous and dynamic, made them attractive to Jewish settlers. On a broader scale, the existence of so many private towns, where even judicial appeal beyond the authority of the town owner was not possible, effectively disenfranchised a growing proportion of the Christian bourgeoisie on the national political scene.[12] And this too, undoubtedly benefited the Jews of the commonwealth.

Jewish historians of the past generation tended to emphasize the dependence of Jews on the arbitrary whims of the town owners and to claim that little distinguished private towns from royal towns. Thus Majer Bałaban wrote that "each caprice or ill-humour of the town owner could result in the worst unhappiness for the Jewish individual or even a whole community."[13] The rather superficial judgments of Bałaban and others were based on anecdotes, colorful but unrepresentative, found in the memoirs, for example, of Solomon Maimon or the Polish nobleman Ochocki, in which Jews were indeed depicted as being treated with arbitrary cruelty. In some measure, the origin of this approach may have been the antinoble bias of the Warsaw positivist historians at the turn of this century. The tendency is exemplified in the work of Władysław Smoleński, one of that school's leading figures. His book, *The Question and the Status of Polish Jews in the Eighteenth Century,* included several anecdotes of capricious cruelty toward Jews by noblemen.[14] In any case, the subject of Jews in Polish private towns and their relations with the town owners is too important to be treated on the basis of anecdote alone.

The final reason for choosing to study Opatów is of a different order, but no less important. It is one of the best-documented private towns of the eighteenth century. A substantial proportion of the records of two families that owned the town in the eighteenth century—Sanguszko and Lubomirski—has been preserved in Polish archives.[15] These collections are extremely

rich and form the basis for much of the book. Other collections, archives, and libraries were searched as well, sometimes with rewarding results. The most notable "discoveries" were a version of the privilege of the Jewish community of Opatów written in 1670; an inventory of the town dating to 1618; and a list of the Jews in Warsaw in 1778, which includes information on towns of origin and shows a large number from Opatów.[16]

Both the Sanguszko and the Lubomirski collections include material in Hebrew and Yiddish, much of which was undoubtedly part of the Jewish communal archive. A copy of the *pinqas,* or minute book, of the Opatów Jewish community, covering the period between 1660 and the early nineteenth century, was in the library of the Warsaw Jewish community until it was lost in 1939. Prior to that time it had been consulted by a number of scholars.[17] Some previously unpublished pages of the text of the *pinqas,* copied by Nahum Sokolow, are in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.[18] The historical literature on Opatów in general and the Jewish community in particular is not very rich. Some of this material was reprinted recently, together with a few new studies, in a volume celebrating the 700th anniversary of the town.[19]

Although I had hoped to systematically investigate the history of Jews in Opatów from the early sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, the relative paucity of the source material for the earlier centuries made me decide to focus primarily on the eighteenth century. The resulting study presents an analytical and, where possible, comparative approach to the social, economic, and political history of the Jews in the town. If I have been successful, this book will recover an important community from historical obscurity by providing a new and more balanced perspective on the Jewish experience in the Polish Commonwealth and by describing the special dimensions of Jewish life in a private town. It will illustrate, too, just how central Jews were in the urban history of Poland.

The Jews in a Polish Private Town

1

Numbers

Throughout the eighteenth century, most of the people who lived in the town of Opatów were Jews. The total population of the town probably never exceeded 4,000, a figure it may have reached during the third quarter of the century (see table 1.1). Of these, roughly 2,500 to 3,000 were Jews. Jewish numbers grew from about 1,000 in the early decades and began to diminish in about 1770, reflecting the economic decline of the town and the region. In the same period, the movement of Opatów Jews to surrounding villages and to Warsaw and Brody can be detected. For the seventeenth century, the data are very thin indeed.

THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

It is known that there were four Jewish families in Opatów by 1538, and that an established community existed before 1571.[1] The only other available quantitative data for the sixteenth century, however, indicate that, in 1578, the Jews of Opatów were assessed 80 zloties for the capitation tax. One group of Christian inhabitants (*oppidi*) was assessed at 128 zloties. Of the other Christian residents, the seventy artisans paid 15 groszy each, as did the sixteen shopkeepers and eight salt dealers.[2] Although some scholars have tried to use these figures as a basis for computing the actual population, and others have used comparative data for evaluating their significance, most scholars suggest that there was no consistent relationship between the amount of tax paid and the real numbers of the population.[3] In the same year, the Jews of Sandomierz were assessed at 40 zloties, and the assessment of the Opatów Jews was prefixed with the words "respectu illorum paupertatis." There is certainly no basis in this for saying that the Jewish community of Opatów was poor, or that it was more than twice as large as that in Sandomierz at that

TABLE 1.1 POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR OPATÓW CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, 1721–1806

Year	Population		
	Total	Christians	Jews
1721	1,700	700	1,000
1727–28	2,100	700	1,400
1755	[a]	[a]	2,000–2,200
1764–65	[a]	[a]	2,200[b]
1770	[a]	[a]	2,560
1774–75	[a]	[a]	2,500
1788	3,000–3,100	1,000	2,000–2,100[c]
1806	2,800	1,500	1,300

a. No basis for estimate in the sources.
b. Add 458 for Jews in villages.
c. Add 900 for Jews in villages.

time. It would seem that caution permits only the general conclusion that by 1578 there was a substantial Jewish community in Opatów, which was assessed at just over one-quarter of the total assessment of the population of the town.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

For the early seventeenth century, there is a more useful source of information. It is an inventory (*inwentarz*) showing the assessment of each house, garden, and other property for tax (*czynsz*) purposes.[4] A total of 178 residential units (excluding empty lots) was listed within the town: 67 on the marketplace, 17 on the "lower" market, 34 on the cobblers' street, and 60 on the Jewish street. A further 171 residential units were listed as "suburban." The houses on the Jewish street included the *szpital* (the poorhouse-hospital, or *heqdesh*) and the *szkoła* (the study hall, or synagogue). Also, one of the suburban units, near the horse market, was the Jewish cemetery. All three of these institutions were treated as taxable properties.

Houses were taxed at several rates: the larger homes at 3.5 groszy, including all the houses on the marketplace and the lower market, seventeen on the cobblers' street, and all but two on the Jewish street. Those two were assessed at 3 groszy each. For the other seventeen houses on the cobblers' street and in the suburbs, the assessment was generally 2.2 groszy. Some smaller houses, including all of those on Wall Street (*na wale*), were taxed at 1.1 groszy. Among those listed as living on Wall Street was Żyd (the Jew) Joseph, probably the only Jew who did not reside on the Jewish street.

Of the fifty-eight identifying names on the Jewish street, thirty-two may reasonably be assumed to have belonged to Jews. Another ten might well have been Jews, but there is less certainty. The remaining sixteen names either certainly, or almost certainly, did not belong to Jews.[5] Thus, the maximum Jewish homeowners in Opatów in 1618 is fifty-nine (fifty-eight on the Jewish street and Joseph on Wall Street). This number is almost surely too high. The minimum is thirty-three, and the middle estimate is forty-three. There is no way of determining the number of people in each house, and it would be anachronistic in the extreme to apply estimates based on sources from the second half of the eighteenth century to data originating in 1618. In addition, the inventory noted thirty tenants without indicating their religion. It is impossible to know, then, how many Jews might have rented quarters in houses owned by others. On the other hand, there are indications that the actual count of houses was accurate. A number of buildings exempt from taxation were listed nonetheless in the inventory, including *Domus Decani* and the house of Lipman *arendarz*. Accepting the middle range estimate of forty-three houses owned by Jews would mean that about 12 percent of all houses and 24 percent of the houses in the city proper were in Jewish hands in 1618.

The inventory also shows clearly that, while Jews were concentrated on one street in the town, Christians lived on this street, too. Around the synagogue and the poorhouse-hospital, however, about midway on the street, was a concentration of Jewish residences. Moreover, of the names least likely to have represented Jews, eight were among the owners of the first ten houses on the Jewish street, and two lived in the last houses on the street.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

At midcentury, and particularly in 1656 and 1657, Opatów was undoubtedly devastated at the time of the war against Sweden. This destruction was reflected in the capitation tax rolls for 1662, 1673, 1674, and 1676. The first, and least inaccurate, of these lists identified Opatów as a city "Secundae Classis" and showed 726 taxable Christians and 266 Jews in 172 houses.[6] The number of houses, then, was slightly less than half the total in 1618. This is not an unreasonable figure in light of the destruction during 1656 and 1657. The poor and children under ten years of age were exempt from the tax.[7] It is well established that there was underreporting on a large scale in 1662. Historians who have attempted to work with these figures, correcting for evasion and exemptions, have tended to double them.[8] This would yield 1,456 Christians and 532 Jews in Opatów in 1662. These numbers, however, should not be taken as more than educated guesses. The figures for the subsequent collections of the capitation tax progressively diminished: 574 Chris-

tians in 1673, no count of Jews; 475 Christians and 219 Jews in 1674; and 392 Christians and 209 Jews in 1676.[9]

On the other hand, there is an indication in a source of a different nature that the Jewish population of the town was growing and not diminishing, as the figures suggest. In 1687, the Council of the Lands lent its authority to the Jewish community in Opatów for the control of the settlement of Jews from elsewhere. The resolution notes that "many people are coming there to live and to settle and that this is proving to be a burden on the community." The ruling of the council adds further, "it is very well-known that this holy community has but one street, and cannot expand its borders."[10]

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO 1755

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, the distinctiveness of the Jewish and Christian residential areas persisted and became even more marked. There were inventories of the "Christian town" in 1713, 1721, and 1727; inventories of the "Jewish town" have been preserved only in the latter two years.[11] In addition, there is a tax roll of Jews for 1728–29.[12] During the first decade of the century, it should be noted, the passing armies of the Northern War doubtlessly not only destroyed property but uprooted people, as well. Opatów was near center stage in the struggles of the pro-Saxon Sandomierz confederacy at that time.[13] Moreover, there was considerable destruction in Opatów in 1733 during fighting between the supporters of the rival claimants for the throne: Stanisław Leszczyński and August III of Saxony.[14]

A comparison of the totals for the eight streets of the Christian town, which appear on all three lists (three others appear on only one or two of the lists), shows a steady decline. The 1713 inventory lists 113 houses and five lots; for 1721, 106 houses and four lots are listed; the inventory for 1727 lists only 94 houses and twenty-four lots. It seems clear that fewer people were living in the town in 1727 than fourteen years earlier; the loss, according to the documents, was close to 17 percent. The number of houses listed in the Jewish town in 1721 was 100, while for 1727, only 69 houses and three lots are noted. These figures, corrected only to reflect the fact that some few Jews lived in the Christian town, are shown on table 1.2.

Computations based on these lists show that Christians tended overwhelmingly to live in one-family dwellings (1.08 families per house in 1721), while at least 70 percent of the Jewish families lived in dwellings that included one other family or more (1.8 families per house; see table 1.3). For 1721, further, the inventories record the names of 138 Christian household heads and 187 Jewish household heads. The actual number of Christians is difficult to arrive at, because it requires a guess as to how many lived in the clerical districts, not to mention the outskirts of the town. It would seem necessary to add

TABLE 1.2 HOUSES LISTED IN THE CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH TOWNS, OPATÓW, 1713–1727

Town	1713	1721	1727	Loss (percent)
Christian town[a]	109	98	86	16.8
Jewish town	—	108[b]	77	28.7

Source: Data based on ADO, I/14, I/58, I/66.
a. The clerical jurisdictional enclaves (*jurydyki*) paid lump sums without any indication of how many dwellings these sums represented.
b. The list for the Jewish town in 1721 numbered each house in turn, but numbers 6, 77, and 102–111 were omitted. There is no indication in the document, but these houses were possibly inhabited by Christians.
—data not available.

TABLE 1.3 JEWISH HOUSES IN OPATÓW, BY NUMBER OF FAMILIES OCCUPYING THEM, 1721–1788

Item	1721	1755	c1766	1788	Average
Houses with one family					
Number	57	47	96	39	60
Percentage	55	28	47	28	40
Houses with two families					
Number	23	37	45	30	34
Percentage	22	22	22	22	22
Houses with three families					
Number	16	38	29	32	29
Percentage	15	22	14	23	19
Houses with four families					
Number	5	23	22	22	18
Percentage	5	14	11	16	12
Houses with five families					
Number	2	17	7	4	8
Percentage	2	10	3	3	5
Houses with more than five families					
Number	1	8	5	11	6
Percentage	1	5	3	8	4
Average families per house	1.8	2.7	2.1	2.7	2.3
Total families	187	466	423	378	
Percentage of families in multifamily houses	70	90	78	90	82

Source: Data based on Mahler, *Yidn*, vol. 2, tables 43, 66; ADO, I/66, I/69, I/102, I/110.

thirty to fifty Christian households, since there were roughly thirty to thirty-five in the clerical district, and it is likely that ten to twenty escaped being counted in one way or another.[15] Assuming that there was also underreporting on the Jewish side, and taking into account the poor who frequently were not assessed, a rough guess would yield the minimum figures of 1,000 for the number of Jews and 700 for the number of Christians in Opatów in 1721.[16]

The figures for 1727 are more difficult to evaluate. Although it cannot be proved, there are indications that underreporting was more extensive in that year. For example, in the 1721 inventory Jews were listed as living in eighteen brick houses (*kamienice*), with an average of 2.28 families in each. In the 1727 list, twenty-six brick houses were recorded, but with an average of only 1.38 families. Further, the sources from the years between 1721 and 1727 give no indication of any possible explanation for the diminution in numbers. Moreover, a tax roll for 1728–29 lists the names of 316 Jewish taxpayers.[17] The list shows a combined total due from each taxpayer in lieu of three different assessments: an income tax, or *sympla;* a property tax; and the capitation tax. While it is impossible to estimate the exact Jewish population on the basis of this figure, it does seem likely that the Jewish population in the town exceeded 1,000 in 1728–29, and was probably closer to 1,500.

In 1755, a document entitled "An Inventory of the Jewish Residents of the Town of Opatów" recorded the names of 466 household heads in 170 houses.[18] This density of settlement was greater than at any other time during the eighteenth century but is not extreme if compared, for example, to conditions in Pińczów in 1764. There, 474 families lived in 146 houses.[19] The Jewish population of Opatów in 1755 was thus at least 2,000. This figure is reached by multiplying 466 by 4.4 (per family). Some poor families and others must have escaped enumeration, so that the figure of 2,000 must be seen as a minimum.

THE YEARS FROM 1756 TO 1770

The decade between 1760 and 1770 yields the most extensive documentation of this sort. In addition to the figure of 2,137 published by Raphael Mahler[20] on the basis of materials from the 1764–65 "census," which were destroyed during the Second World War, the following archival documentation has survived: (a) 1760: a list of 378 Jews who paid the *sympla;*[21] (b) 1766?: an undated capitation tax roll, showing 423 household heads in 204 houses and a total of 1,675 Jews over one year of age;[22] (c) 1767–69: a list of 360 Jews who owed a balance on their *sympla;*[23] (d) 1770: a list of 485 Jews who paid the *sympla.*[24]

A population of 2,000 in 1755, growing at a rate of between 1 and 2 percent per year, would have reached roughly between 2,200 and 2,450 by

1764–65. Mahler's calculations led him to suggest that there were 2,137 Jews in Opatów at that time. To reach this figure he added to the 1,675 "heads" counted, 6.35 percent to account for infants under twelve months of age, and 20 percent to account for evasion, underreporting, and the poor. The archival document recording the list "for the Jewish capitation tax" probably dates from 1765 or 1766.[25] While that document shows the same total number of heads as Mahler's source, it lists 204 houses, unlike Mahler's 176, and 423 heads of household, unlike Mahler's 437.[26]

These discrepancies are difficult to account for, though it may be that in the preparation of a capitation tax list more attention would have been paid to the number of households than to the number of houses. However, increasibg the number of houses in Mahler's document by 20 percent, to yield a figure closer to that in the undated archival list, would simply move the discrepancy from the number of houses reported to the number of families reported. Whatever the explanation, it would seem that the archival figure of 204 houses is more accurate than the 176 houses reported by Mahler. The increase in the number of houses over the number reported in 1755 (170) would then correspond almost exactly to the population increase during the same period.

Some confidence in at least the inner consistency of the lists available for the decade is inspired by a careful collation and comparison of all the names of Jews recorded in the available documentation for those years. Using the list of 485 taxpayers in 1770 as a base, it was found that 315 names that did not appear in 1770 appeared during the previous ten years in documents of various kinds. These were distributed as follows: 140 of the 378 listed in 1760; 106 of the 423 listed c1766; 32 of the 360 listed in 1767–69; and 37 in assorted other documents.

Thus, as might well be expected, the greatest discrepancy occurred in the earliest year. A list of taxpayers in arrears in 1760 provides explanations in some cases.[27] It notes that 13 of the taxpayers in arrears had left town, 14 had died, and one had become a Christian. It seems reasonable to assume that this was more or less representative, and that 27 or 28 people would have left the rolls each year under normal circumstances. In other words, given the imprecision inherent in a collation of names, it would seem that a total of 315 people leaving the rolls over a decade is a reasonable figure—although it could, perhaps, be lowered slightly. The c1766 list concluded with the comment that more than half of the people listed had left or died or were poor and lacked the means to pay. Although comments of this sort should not be discounted entirely, they must be taken *cum grano salis*.[28] There are, then, grounds for accepting these tax rolls as representative, roughly, of the number of economically active Jews in the community. What, however, was the relationship between the number of *sympla* payers and the actual population?

TABLE 1.4 JEWISH TAXPAYERS ON THE COMMUNITY TAX ROLLS (*SYMPLA*), 1728–1794

Year	Taxpayers	Year	Taxpayers
1728	316[a]	1775	333
1755	371	1776	308
1760	378	1777	339
1767–69	360[b]	1789	310
1770	485	1790	325
1771	430	1791	323
1772	318	1794	292

Source: Data based on ADO, I/58, I/59, I/102, I/109, I/110, I/114, I/120, II/73, II/123; Arch. Sang., 428.

a. From the combined tax roll.

b. From a list of those in arrears and, therefore, incomplete.

While there are indications that the number of poor in Opatów was considerable,[29] on the other hand, the figure of 485 taxpayers in 1770 is substantially higher than any other recorded during the entire period, which suggests that it is a relatively complete list. The following year, only 430 taxpayers are listed.[30] In 1755, the difference between the number of *sympla* payers and the number of household heads is roughly 25 percent. Assuming that the 1770 list is more complete, and adding only 20 percent, the result is an estimate of 2,560 Jews in Opatów in that year.[31] This accords well with a rate of growth of 1.5 percent per year. It may well be, as will be seen, that 1770 marked the peak of the expansion of Jewish numbers in Opatów (table 1.4).

FROM 1770 TO THE END OF THE CENTURY

Before considering archival sources concerning the Jewish population in Opatów at the end of the eighteenth century, it might be useful to take note as well of the comments of three contemporary observers. Johann de Carosi (or von Carosis) described Opatów briefly in a book published in 1781.[32] He wrote that the Jews were living in small wooden houses, that they were very numerous, and that, consequently, the town was very dirty. He said that the Jews controlled the trade of the region and that the fairs of Opatów were very crowded. There is nothing very surprising here, except perhaps his comment on the size of the houses of Jews at a time when it is known that most were living in multifamily dwellings. Most likely, this is an instance of the partial vision of the tourist.

There is an extended reference to Opatów in a volume of *responsa* published in 1781–82 by R. Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel.[33] The question concerned a man

who died in an inn in a town not his own. He had described himself as being from Apt, which was what Jews called Opatów.[34] Could he, the rabbi asked rhetorically, have meant any other place? No, "Apt is a large and famous city and rules over numerous towns in its vicinity, being their metropolis. One does not suspect that there is another city [of the same name] in this country like it."[35]

The third comment comes from the pen of the most famous Jewish son of Opatów, R. Yeḥezqel Landau. Asked, in 1774, by a younger contemporary (Eli'ezer Ha-qalir) for a reference so that the latter could apply for the vacant rabbinical post in Opatów, the rabbi of Prague replied loftily, "I do not advise him to return to Poland for such a middling town [*'ir beinonit*]."[36] One man's large and famous city was another's provincial backwater.

During the decade of the 1770s there was both a decline in economic activity in the town and a falling off, or at least stasis, in the size of the Jewish population. After the high point of 1770, when 485 Jews paid the *sympla,* the figures for subsequent years dropped (table 1.4). Similarly, while the 1764–65 capitation tax count of 1675 heads was simply repeated as a basis for assessment in the years through 1772, a new count was carried out in 1773 or 1774.

The register of the capitation tax for the year beginning May 1, 1774, recorded only 1,463 Jews in Opatów. If the corrections used by Mahler on the 1764–65 list are applied to this figure—that is, if 6.35 percent is added to account for infants under twelve months of age and a further 20 percent is added to account for underreporting, the result is 1,867. However, life and historical sources are never uncomplicated. While the number of heads reported in 1774–75 is indeed about 12.6 percent lower than the 1764–65 figure, the number of heads of households (516) is about 18 percent *higher* than the 437 that appeared in the sources Mahler had before him. It seems logical to take the count of household heads more seriously than the count of heads. Allowing for underreporting and exemptions, this leads to a figure between 2,000 and 2,500 as a rough estimate of the Jewish population in 1774–75.[37]

The final group of sources dates from the years between 1787 and 1791. Some figures are available as well from capitation tax rolls compiled from general sources and reflecting collections of the tax from all or significant parts of the country in 1776, 1778, 1787, 1789, and 1790.[38] The figures, however, are so inconsistent as to warrant their being discarded as reliable indexes of population size and growth. Thus, for the Sandomierz *województwo* as a whole, the figures available are 1776: 17,359; 1778: 26,039; 1787: 16,936; 1790: 19,122. For Opatów, the available figures are 1787: 597; 1789: 527; and 1790: 690.[39] The last is very close to the estimate of the Jewish population of Opatów reported to the Cracow diocese in 1787.[40] The figures for the Chris-

tian population of the town vary even more dramatically. For the assessment of the hearth tax (*dymy*), the figure reported for the Christian population in 1787 is 2,042. In that year, the report to the Cracow diocese recorded a Christian population of 3,054 (both figures include 18 "dissidents"). The number reported in connection with the hearth tax in 1789–90, however, is 1,028. The high church figure is explicable, because the numbers reported are for collegiate parishes, which included some surrounding villages as well as the town proper.

There is, however, a more reliable source—or at the least one comparable with the rest of the archival sources for the eighteenth century. An inventory of the town was prepared in 1788 in the aftermath of a fire two years earlier.[41] It lists 441 Jewish households in 133 houses plus sixty-three lots and 174 Christian households in 107 houses plus twenty-four lots. The very large number of lots undoubtedly reflects the damage caused by the fire. To arrive at the actual Christian population, some account must be taken of the three clerical jurisdictional enclaves (*jurydyki*) not included in the inventory. Here, the 1790 hearth list is of some use, because it includes the three *jurydyki: kolegiaty, dziekańskie,* and *kantorskie,* noting a total of 70 small houses (*chałupy*) for these districts.[42] These 70 houses, added to those listed in the inventory, mean there were at least 177 houses inhabited by Christians in Opatów, together with the 133 houses of Jews.[43]

Using the number of households as a base, the Jewish population in 1788 can be estimated at between 1,900 and 2,300. Whatever the precise figure may have been, there is a clear basis for contending that the number of Jews in Opatów was declining in this period. Even a slow rate of growth of 1 percent per year would have led to a Jewish population of about 2,800. The tax rolls of 1789, 1790, 1791, and 1794, which list 310, 325, 323, and 292 taxpayers, also tend to support the impression of decline.[44]

Finally, the inventory of the town taken in 1806 reports a Jewish population of 822: 392 men and 430 women; and a Christian population of 1,310: 603 men, 687 women, and 20 clerics.[45] The list includes the names of 265 Jewish householders in 249 houses and 374 Christian householders (including the clerics) in 106 houses.

VILLAGE JEWS

During the years when the Jewish population of the town of Opatów was diminishing, the number of Jews living in the surrounding villages and townlets was increasing. These Jews were subject to the authority of the kahal of Opatów, and the proportion of the kahal's income that villagers' tax payments represented increased substantially beginning in about 1760 (see chapter 6).

TABLE 1.5 OPATÓW JEWS IN WARSAW, 1778

Description	Opatów Jews in Warsaw	Total Jews in Warsaw
Men	71	1,214
Women	32	677
Sons	28	540
Daughters	20	495
Male servants	15	419
Female servants	7	167
Total	173	3,512

Source: Data based on Arch. Pub.

In the mid-1760s, the capitation tax was paid by 359 Jews living in the settlements around Opatów. If this figure is corrected in accordance with Mahler's method (+6.35 percent + 20 percent), it yields 485. By 1791–92, however, 559 Jews in four townlets paid the capitation tax in addition to Jews living in at least 45 villages.[46] Other sources list Jews in fifty-six villages in 1787[47] and fifty-five villages in 1795.[48] This means that by the 1790s, over 900 Jews were living in the settlements around Opatów. That figure can be accounted for reasonably only if some migration to these settlements is assumed, likely by Jews from Opatów itself.

WARSAW JEWS

While a substantial number of Jews from Opatów began, particularly in the second half of the century, to seek their livelihoods in the villages, at least an equally significant number was drawn in a different direction. Anticipating one of the most dramatic features of the demographic history of Jews in the nineteenth century, namely migration to the great metropolitan centers, a significant number of Jews, particularly from Little Poland, began to settle in Warsaw in the 1760s and 1770s. Since Jewish residence in that city was prohibited by law, Jews lived in nobles' houses, which were jurisdictional enclaves and not subject to municipal authority.

A "census" of Warsaw's Jewish population, recorded in January 1778, lists 3,512 Jews in 1,260 households.[49] The fifty-page document provides the names and addresses of these Jews, in the following categories: men, women, sons, daughters, male servants, and female servants (table 1.5). The town of origin of the male or female head of household was also listed. For 23 percent of these, the place of origin was either Lublin (13.4 percent) or Cracow (9.8 percent). Of the 195 other places of origin listed, the most common was

Opatów (5.8 percent). Next in frequency was Pińczów, which was listed as the town of origin of 5.5 percent of the heads of households. No other town was listed for more than 3.5 percent of the household heads.[50]

The Opatów households, like the rest of the Jewish population, betray the characteristics of recent migration, about half of the households (thirty-seven) consisted of men alone, although nine of these did have servants. It seems clear that the movement of Jews from Opatów to Warsaw was continuing and that it accounted for no small part of the decrease in Opatów Jews in the period under consideration.

2

The Town and the Jewish Community before 1700

EARLY HISTORY

An ancient town in the Polish context, Opatów had acquired considerable importance and a sizable population by the midfourteenth century. One estimate puts the population then at 1,728. Even before 1237, when the bishop of Lubusz acquired the town with its sixteen villages from Henryk Brodaty, Opatów was host to a strong clerical presence, as suggested by its name: *Opatów* is derived from the same root as the English word *abbot,* which indicates the significance of a monastic order in the early history of the town. Indeed, in 1232, the contemporary Cistercian abbot in Opatów, Gerard, was raised to the rank of bishop of the Latins in Ruthenia. The town was owned by the bishopric of Lubusz from 1237 to 1514. During that period, Opatów expanded and developed as a center of regional commerce.[1]

In 1282, the duke of Cracow-Sandomierz, Leszko Czarny, promulgated a "privilege of foundation" for the town of Opatów. A fourteenth-century royal approbation of this privilege refers to the town as *wielki* (great) Opatów.[2] Official documents continued to designate the town in this way until the end of the eighteenth century. The clerical owners of the town encouraged its commercial development, building stores and a town hall and establishing a weekly market day (Saturday) and two annual fairs. These efforts were crowned with success. This can be seen in the royal privileges of Casimir the Great (1366), Władysław Jagiełło (1389), and Kazimierz Jagiełło (1459), intended to safeguard the centrality of Sandomierz in the commerce of the region. The privileges were directed primarily and explicitly against competition by the merchants of Opatów.[3] It was during the fifteenth century that the regional assembly (*sejmik*) of the district (*województwo*) of Sandomierz first met in Opatów.[4] In view of this and of the considerable attention devoted to the town by the contemporary chronicler Jan Długosz (1415–80), it would

seem likely that Opatów was the second city of the region, after Sandomierz, during the fifteenth century.[5]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, the town was virtually destroyed in Tatar attacks, the most damaging of which occurred during the major incursion led by the sons of Mengli-Girey in 1502. The contemporary bishop of Lubusz, Teodoryk, took a number of steps to encourage reconstruction, including obtaining from the monarch certain tax exemptions for the town's residents (in 1504) and the right to add a third fair (in 1505). Perhaps because of the costs of rebuilding, the bishop then decided to sell the Opatów holding.

The new owner was Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (1467–1532), one of the most prominent men at court. He purchased Opatów and its villages on October 12, 1514, for 10,000 Hungarian florins.[6] The sale was confirmed by the king in July of the next year. Szydłowiecki, prepared to invest in his new property and immediately set about making improvements, including repairs to the walls and the aqueduct and the construction of four gates. He was able also to obtain exemption from certain tolls for Opatów's merchants and tax benefits for its residents.[7]

On Szydłowiecki's death in 1532, the Opatów holding was divided among his three daughters: Krystyna, Elżbieta, and Zofia. Krystyna sold her share in 1548 to her sister Zofia's husband, Jan Tarnowski (1488–1561). Elżbieta and her husband, Mikołaj "Czarny" Radziwiłł (1515–65), owned the remaining third. In the next generation, the larger share was held by Zofia and Jan Tarnowski's daughter, also named Zofia, and her husband, Konstanty Wazyl Ostrogski (1527–1608). The smaller share was the object of a prolonged judicial dispute between the two children of Elżbieta and Mikołaj "Czarny" Radziwiłł: Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549–1616) and his sister Krystyna, the wife of Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605). Ultimately, the Radziwiłł side sold their one-third share to the Ostrogskis, likely during the ninth decade of the sixteenth century. Certainly, by 1595, the entire Opatów holding was controlled by Janusz Ostrogski (1554–1620), son of Zofia and Konstanty Wazyl. Presumably, the latter purchased the one-third share of Opatów during the period when he was consolidating his hold on all the Tarnowski estates.[8] During the seventeenth century, Opatów remained in the hands of various members of the Ostrogski clan.[9]

Szydłowiecki, Tarnowski, Zamoyski, Radziwiłł, Ostrogski—these were names to conjure with in Poland in the sixteenth century. They belonged to some of the most prominent and influential magnate-aristocrats of the state. Unfortunately, the available sources reveal very little about their policies relating specifically to the Opatów holding. With such powerful and effective personages as owners, it seems reasonable to assume that the administration of the estate was fairly efficient, providing the stability and the security nec-

essary for the growth of the town's population and the continuation and expansion of commercial and manufacturing activity.

The transfer of the property from clerical ownership did not signal an end to the substantial clerical presence in the town. The legacy of the earlier period was the continuing existence, through the eighteenth century, of two clerical jurisdictional enclaves not subject to municipal authority. These were autonomous clerical townlets, referred to in the records as *miasteczko Dziekania* and *miasteczko Kantoria.*[10] The residence of artisans and even merchants in these enclaves, as in the case of such *jurydyki* in other towns, was a constant thorn in the side of the municipal authorities and of the guildsmen of the city.[11]

THE BEGINNINGS OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT

Unlike their counterparts in medieval Western Europe, Jews in Poland only rarely settled in towns owned by churchmen.[12] A register of Jewish communities recorded in 1507, not surprisingly therefore, did not mention Opatów.[13] In fact, the earliest known reference to Jews in the town dates from 1538: there were four Jewish families in the town at that time.[14] Thus, it seems likely that Jews first came to live there shortly after the town was acquired by Krzysztof Szydłowiecki in 1514. The assessment of the Jews of Opatów at eighty zloties in the capitation tax rolls of 1578 suggests a community of substantial size. The privilege issued by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł to the merchants' and shopkeepers' guild of Opatów in 1569 promised the guild members protection against Jewish "wrongdoing and deceit."[15] Two years later, the same Mikołaj Krzysztof issued a privilege to the Jews in his part of Opatów that mentions no restrictions on Jewish commercial activity.[16]

THE PRIVILEGE

That privileges were granted to individual communities at a time when there were general charters guaranteeing the rights of Jews in all of Poland reflects the growing decentralization of power in the commonwealth. Particularly after 1539, when the Sejm granted the town owners exclusive jurisdiction over Jews in their holdings, thus removing from Jews the right of appeal to royal courts, the desirability of particular guarantees of the rights and privileges of Jews increased. It should be recalled, also, that the legal traditions underlying the granting of juridical autonomy to Jews—their right to follow their own traditions and to be judged in accordance with their own laws—were very ancient indeed. In the Polish context, not only were the cities themselves founded on the basis of *jure theutonico et libertate magdeburiensis,* but even within the city, certain ethnic-religious groups sought various forms of

autonomy. This was the case with Armenians and Scots and, in some measure, Italians as well. When the Firlejs, owners of Lewartów (Lubartów), near Lublin, wanted to attract Dutch and Flemish artisans to their own town to foster its development as a center of textile manufacturing, they promised the new settlers not only freedom of worship, but *suo patrio iure iutatur.* Although there were, at times, Armenians, Scots, Greeks, and Germans residing in Opatów, their numbers were never sufficient to warrant any form of organization.[17]

It might be said, then—in view of the fact that the legal definition of Jews' rights, privileges, and duties in the town was entirely distinct from that of their Christian neighbors, and in view of the existence, further, of a separate court for them—that Jews were "in the city but not of it." This, however, would not reflect their very substantial numerical presence nor the commercial, industrial, fiscal, and administrative significance of Jews in the town. Certainly by the early eighteenth century, when there was a clear Jewish majority in Opatów, one might rather apply the epigram "in the city but not of it" to the Christian population, particularly in view of the significant proportion of the Christian residents living in the town but engaged in agriculture.

The copy of the privilege granted to the Jews of Opatów, which is in the Archive of Old Acts (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) in Warsaw, dates from 1670 (appendix 1). It was signed in Opatów on July 25, 1670, by Alexander Janusz Ostrogski. Embedded in the document are five earlier privileges, summaries of privileges, or approbations (table 2.1). This text, then, was the formal expression of Jewish rights and obligations confirmed by ten different owners of Opatów over a period of almost two centuries. The various owners made only the slightest modifications to the earliest formulations in the document, which dates back to 1571. It would not be correct, however, to take this as an indication that there was very little change in the town owners' policies during that two-hundred-year period.

The earliest passages in the Jews' privilege date from the period when ownership of the town was divided between Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł and Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski. Radziwiłł affirmed that the Jews have "presented evidence" to Ostrogski proving that "they have always held [certain] freedom[s] in the town of Opatów." There is no indication as to what form this evidence of previously granted freedoms might have taken, and no earlier privilege was cited. Nevertheless, the passage can be taken to indicate that the community was certainly not being established *de novo* in 1571. This conclusion is buttressed by the rather laconic manner of listing the actual privileges granted by Ostrogski and Radziwiłł. Indeed, an earlier privilege, now lost, was apparently promulgated in 1545.[18]

The Ostrogski text of 1571 is not preserved in full in the document. It was merely paraphrased by Radziwiłł in one sentence: "that they have always had the freedom in the town of Opatów to sell wine and all other beverages

TABLE 2.1 PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO JEWS, OPATÓW, 1670

Owner of Opatów Who Signed Privilege	Place Where Privilege Was Signed	Date of Endorsement
Konstanty Ostrogski	[a]	May 24, 1571
Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł	Warsaw	May 29, 1571
Konstanty Ostrogski	Krupice	April 11, 1575
Janusz Ostrogski	Ćmielów	August 4, 1595
Władysław Dominik Ostrogski	Opatów	September 30, 1633
Alexander Janusz Ostrogski	Opatów	July 25, 1670
Dimitr Wiśniowiecki	Baranów	May 7, 1678
Alexander Dominik Lubomirski	Baranów	May 5, 1710
Paweł Sanguszko	Dubno	January 26, 1721
Janusz Sanguszko	[a]	July 20, 1750
Antoni Lubomirski	Opole	April 20, 1755

Source: Zbiór dokumentów.

Note: The last five entries represent five separate approbations in different hands by different owners of Opatów, added after the original document was prepared in 1670. The document measures 61 cm. × 54.6 cm. Józef Bursztyn transcribed a different version of the privilege, which also includes approbations dated 1638, 1646, and 1675. Bursztyn, Żydzi opatowscy, pp. 29–31.

a. No place noted.

and to sell goods of all kinds every day in their houses and in shops on the marketplace." Radziwiłł, "wishing in no way to diminish or to disturb their established rights and freedom," accepted "completely," what Ostrogski had provided. Radziwiłł ordered his representative to enforce this in "our part of Opatów." The concern here, clearly, was to grant the Jews freedom to pursue commercial activities of all sorts without restriction, a tendency seen in a substantial number of contemporary privileges to other Jewish communities.[19] Wine and other beverages had to be mentioned explicitly, because their manufacture and sale were subject to the control of the town owner.

Radziwiłł's text goes on to say that, just as the Jews, in return for this privilege, had in the past paid certain taxes, made certain payments, and fulfilled certain obligations, "like the other burghers, our subjects," so they continued to be obliged in the same way. This is very vague wording, indeed, but it seems to have put Jews on an equal footing with Christian residents of the town in terms of their fiscal obligations to the town owner. The reference to "obligations," in addition to taxes and payments, could have meant labor duties (*gwałt* or *szarwark*), but this cannot be deduced with certainty from the present text.[20]

The earlier privileges were endorsed without modification by Konstanty Ostrogski in 1575 and by Janusz Ostrogski in 1595. In 1633, however,

Władysław Dominik Ostrogski broadened the contents considerably by addressing a number of issues not mentioned in the earlier texts. "First of all, [they are] free to erect and build in their district [*na gruncie ich*], a synagogue, a school [*szkoła*], a cemetery and a hospital-poorhouse [*szpital,* or *heqdesh*] as well as houses for residence." This passage is striking in a number of its aspects and not least because it is known that all four of the specific institutions named had been established well before 1633. The synagogue was built in the sixteenth century.[21] An "inventory" of the town carried out in 1618 listed a *szpital,* a *szkoła,* and a Jewish cemetery.[22] Thus, although only this 1633 version has been preserved, it seems possible that the contents replicate the text of some earlier, lost, privilege. Alternatively, it could be maintained that only in 1633, for some unknown reason, did the Jewish community find it necessary to obtain specific and official confirmation of the rights of residence, which up to then they had enjoyed *de facto* but not *de jure.* Or, finally, the explanation could be that a fire had destroyed the Jewish street sometime between 1618 and 1633. The preamble to the 1633 text did note that the Jews of the town had asked Ostrogski to reissue the privilege because some of their own copies of the privilege had been lost in a fire.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of scholars took the passage in the 1633 privilege referring to the Jews' district as indicating the establishment at that time of a separate neighborhood or street for Jews in Opatów.[23] Based on the 1618 inventory, however, it must be concluded that such a separate area existed before 1633 (see chapter 1). Further, it is noteworthy that there is no negative language in the text, excluding, for example, Jews from residence in the marketplace or elsewhere. Very likely, Jews in Opatów had always been concentrated mainly on one street. Even though residential segregation was fairly unusual in private towns,[24] the particular history of Opatów might explain this apparent anomaly in the sociotopography of the town.

The key factor was the legacy of clerical ownership and the persistence of clerical districts in the town. In such conditions, the "sociotopographic dynamic" might have led to the creation of a further separate division for Jews. Moreover, it will be recalled that the earliest Polish synodal enactment referring to Jews demanded that they live in "contiguous or adjoining houses in a separate location in each city or village."[25] This hypothesis need not be extended to the conclusion that Jews dwelt in Opatów before its sale by the Bishop of Lubusz to Krzysztof Szydłowiecki in 1514. What is being suggested is merely that, in a town already divided into separate residential areas governed by clergy and laymen, the addition of another separate district would have been a natural development.

How should this residential segregation be evaluated? It was not enforced

with complete efficacy; at every point when it is possible to know where Jews lived, there was always a handful in Christian areas.[26] Nevertheless, it would seem that from the beginning of the seventeenth century at least—and in all probability, from the start of Jewish residence in Opatów—there was a physical division of areas of residence between the "Christian town" and the "Jewish town" (and the clerical towns). It is likely that, at least at first, Jews did not experience the division of the town as a form of oppression. It was routine and unexceptional for Jews to want to live together. As the population grew, however, and it was "impossible to expand their boundaries," the restriction did become irksome.[27] Despite the complaints of the Christian burghers, the Jewish town expanded nonetheless during the eighteenth century. But the pattern of two separate districts was maintained.[28]

Even in 1633, the community was of a size sufficient to support the existence of both a synagogue and a *szkoła*. The latter term may have meant a *beit midrash,* that is, a kind of public study hall–chapel, where men came to study. Alternatively, it could have meant a *yeshiva,* a somewhat more formal academy headed by a scholar. Indeed, the earliest known rabbi of Opatów, at the end of the sixteenth century or the early years of the seventeenth century, was addressed as rabbi (*av beit din,* or chief judge) and head of the academy (*resh metivta*).[29] In many towns, these institutions, as well as the poorhouse-hospital and the cemetery, were exempt from property taxes. In Opatów, at least in 1618, this was not the case, as shown by the inventory of that year, which indicates that taxes were collected for all of those properties.

The 1633 privilege went on to restate, in almost the same language as the sixteenth-century privileges, the granting of full commercial freedom to Jews. They were permitted to sell various beverages and wine, as well as all goods, on any day, in their houses or in the marketplace. Appended in this version, however, was a hint that Christian competitors resented these Jewish rights. The text forbids any hindrance by the burghers to the exercise of these rights (*przeszkody od mieszczań zakazaliśmy*).

The next clause permitted Jews to slaughter and sell meat freely in their butchers' stalls. This was a right that Polish Jews had been guaranteed from the period of the medieval charters, and it was seldom abridged.[30] The Jews' religious requirement that they slaughter their own animals was understood and accepted. Since, however, certain parts of the animal were not kosher and certain animals were found not to be kosher once their organs were examined, Jewish butchers developed a Christian clientele as well. Indeed, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in many towns, the meat business fell virtually entirely into Jewish hands. For the right to slaughter meat and for the use of the stalls, an annual payment of one hundred zloties "to our treasury" was demanded by Ostrogski. He immediately stated, however, that

all the other payments, taxes, and obligations of the Jews would be the same as those of the burghers "in accordance with old custom" (*według dawnego trybu iako y mieszczanie (za)chowaliśmy*).

The final matter taken up in this privilege is the question of courts. Ostrogski maintained the courts of the Jews as of old. The term used is rather imprecise; they were designated the "courts of the elders" (*sądy przy starszych ich*). While there were lay courts in Jewish society, the reference might well have been expected to be to rabbinic courts (*duchowny* or *rabinacki*).[31] Whatever the precise meaning of the term, the main significance here was the exemption of Jews from the jurisdiction of the Christian municipal courts. The extent of this exemption was not specified. Which court had jurisdiction in mixed cases—with a Jewish plaintiff and a Christian defendant or vice versa—was not made clear.[32] From other sources, it is known that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, if the plaintiff was a Christian burgher and the defendant was a Jew, the case was heard in the kahal courts.[33]

Whatever their precise jurisdiction, the decisions of the Jews' courts could be appealed to the owner's own court (*do sądu naszego nadwornego*). This clause, of course, had very far-reaching implications, indeed. It concretized the weakening of the authority and the power of the Jewish community. It illustrated the paradoxical quality of the relations between the kahal and the *pan,* that is, the lord. On the one hand, the communal institutions served the interests of the town owner and he, in his turn, strengthened these institutions. On the other hand, it was the town owner who wielded the real power, and this tended to vitiate the authority of the elders and the judges of the Jewish community.[34] This issue is discussed at greater length in chapter 8.

It might be well to add here that, in some private towns, the autonomous national or regional court system of the Jews was recognized. In at least two "daughter" communities of Opatów—Tarłów and Tarnobrzeg—both private towns belonging to other owners, appeals of cases between Jews were explicitly recognized as belonging to the competence "of the elders of the region of Opatów" (*starszych ziemskich Opatowskich*).[35]

After 1633, no significant changes or modifications were made to the charters by subsequent town owners. The privilege became a kind of constitutional document, guaranteeing the rights and privileges of the Jews of Opatów. Thus, in 1708, the Christian municipality complained to the town owner's officials: "According to city law, Jews are to conduct trade and sell alcoholic beverages only on their own street, and not to harm the Christians. Now, however, Jews manufacture beer and mead and sell wine as well as hay, oats, herring, fish, barley, salt, candles, and meat on our marketplace. Even pork, which they do not eat, they sell anyway." The response quotes the privilege of the Jews verbatim, rejecting the complaint, and concluding that "the burghers must respect the law."[36]

The privilege of the Jewish community of Opatów, in its concentration on commercial activities and the granting of commercial freedom, was representative of a broad trend in Polish legislation during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.[37] Characteristic also were the clauses added in the 1633 charter, which assured the independence of communal institutions and Jewish courts, guaranteed the right to slaughter animals, and promised nondiscriminatory taxation. To be sure, there were other, contradictory, trends in the period, as well. More than fifty towns and cities obtained the right *de non tolerandis Judaeis;* these, however, were mainly crown towns.[38] In some private towns, though, more concessions were made to the interests of the Christian residents than was the case in Opatów.[39]

The privilege was not a comprehensive constitution. Not only were the provisions lacking in detail, but a number of areas were ignored entirely. There was no specific reference to the requirement of labor duties from Jews; the possible conflict of interests between the Christian artisans and their guilds and Jews engaged in commercial or artisanal activity was not addressed; nothing was said specifically about ownership of property and its free disposal; there was no explicit reference to the role of Jews, if any, in the election of a municipal government; the subject of the Jews' freedom to leave the town was not mentioned. Many, if not all, of these issues did indeed arise and were dealt with in various ways, but the privilege provided no guidance on these subjects.

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

Very little direct evidence about Jews in Opatów during the sixteenth century, or indeed, about Opatów in general, during that period, has been preserved. For the first half of the seventeenth century, the source material available is almost as thin as for the earlier period. Nevertheless, the indications are clear enough to suggest that Opatów was a dynamic town during that period, expanding in terms both of its numbers and its commercial significance. Whatever the precise meaning of the figures reported in the 1578 tax roll, they do suggest that Opatów was the second city in the region after Sandomierz. The residents (*oppidi*) of Opatów were assessed at 128 florins; those of Sandomierz at 224 florins. Sixteen traders (*revenditor*) were listed in Opatów, some of whom exported grain to Gdańsk and others of whom frequented the roads to Cracow.[40] The tax roll notes, as well, 155 artisans in Sandomierz and 70 in Opatów. The Jews of Sandomierz were assessed at forty florins; those of Opatów at eighty florins, "*respectu illorum paupertatis.*"

Some of these Jews were, no doubt, also merchants. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, the privilege authorizing the founding of a guild of merchants and retailers in Opatów in 1569 specifically promised the Christians protection

against the "wrongdoing and deceit" of their Jewish competitors.[41] Moreover, soon after the arrival of Jews in Opatów, market day was moved from Saturday to Sunday.[42] At least some of the Jews of Opatów were prosperous enough to employ Christian servants, evoking complaints from the clerics of the town in 1612.[43] This prosperity was achieved not only through commercial activity but also through holding *arenda* contracts (leases obtained from the town owner on various monopolies, most commonly involving the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages) and lending money at interest.

From 1574, Opatów was the regular meeting place of the dietine, or regional assembly, of the nobility (*sejmik*) of the Sandomierz province (*województwo*).[44] And while, to say the least, this sometimes meant there was rather boisterous behavior in the town, particularly among the retinues of the noblemen who attended the meetings, it was also good for business in the inns, the taverns, and the shops. Zbigniew Ossoliński, who attended meetings of the *sejmik,* recorded in his diary in 1599 that he had contracted debts to two Opatów Jews. He owed Zuzman 145 zloties, 16 groszy, and he owed Abraham the substantial sum of 2,430 zloties.[45] Both names appeared in the inventory of 1618.[46] And Abraham undoubtedly was the same as "Abraam," who, together with the Jew Bona, was referred to as an *arrendator* of Opatów in a receipt for the sale of twenty-five *kamień* (about 320 kg.) of copper to Joannes Milnarowicz at Lublin in 1615.[47] Bona's name appeared in the 1618 inventory in large dark letters, in contrast to all of the other names on the list. Presumably, this reflected his position as *arrendator* of the town.

In 1607, a complaint was filed on behalf of the Jew Wolff Opatoviensis in the district court (*gród*) of Nowy Sącz. Wolff claimed that he had waited seven weeks to be paid for grain he had sold on credit to Szymon Malak, sometime magistrate (*wójt*) of Nowy Sącz. No quantities or prices were recorded in the document of complaint.[48] Wolff held the lease (*arenda*) on two mills in Nowy Sącz, together with a partner.[49] He was also involved in commerce on a significant scale. In one operation, he sought to sell 700 *kamień* of plums or prunes at the Lublin fair.[50] Wolff's partner in the contract on the mills in Nowy Sącz was a certain Benedict, a Jew, also from Opatów. The latter was referred to in 1611 as the servant and factor of Janusz Ostrogski.[51] There was no reference to a Benedict or Barukh in the 1618 inventory.

Since Cracow was at the center of the larger commercial district of which Opatów was a part, a somewhat clearer picture of the activities of Opatów Jewish merchants can be recovered on the basis of the records of various tolls collected in Cracow during the first half of the seventeenth century. Much of this material has been analyzed by Zenon Guldon and Karol Krzystanek and by Honorata Obuchowska-Pysiowa.[52] The data show that, in this period at least, Jewish merchants were very far indeed from dominating the commerce of the region. In 1604, the records of tolls showed that goods worth 782,000

zloties were imported to Cracow by 481 Polish merchants. Of these, only 47 were Jews, and their goods had a total value of about 31,000 zloties. These proportions—less than 1 percent of the merchants and less than 3 percent of the goods by value—contradict, as Guldon has stressed, the opinion of the contemporary publicist Sebastian Miczynski. His book, published in 1618, pictures Jews as controlling foreign trade in Cracow.[53] Of those 47 Jewish merchants in 1604, 44 were from Cracow itself, and one each were from Bochnia, Olkusz, and Opatów.

Guldon and Krzystanek sampled the Cracow toll registers (*regestry celne*) for three periods during the first half of the seventeenth century: 1601–04, 1615–19, and 1641–45. The data show that the total number of entries per year declined rather sharply toward the end of the half-century period. On the other hand, the proportion of the entries representing Jewish merchants grew, rising from 13.5 percent on average between 1601 and 1604, to 24 percent between 1641 and 1645. Thus, the Jewish share of the commerce of the region was expanding substantially, but Jews were still far from playing a dominant role. Similarly, analysis of the Warsaw tolls on goods being shipped by river to Gdańsk between 1605 and 1651 shows that, of 975 merchants mentioned, only 60 (6.2 percent) were Jews.[54] Careful examination of these data, however, does show that, while the majority of the 975 merchants (568) was exporting grain, Jews were concentrated in the trade in other goods, notably hides, wax, and textiles.[55] Other sources show that, in 1641 alone, 490 Jewish merchants reached Gdańsk. Of these, 38 were from Sandomierz, 3 from Opatów, and 2 from Pińczów.[56]

In the Cracow toll records for 1601–4, of the entries representing Jewish merchants from the Sandomierz *województwo,* the largest portion (24 percent) was from Chęciny, and 13 percent were from Opatów. Still, in this period the most active Jewish merchant was Jakub Nosson of Opatów. His name appeared no less than sixteen times in the toll records of that period. Two of the entries in the list of importers to Cracow in 1604 also record his transactions.[57] He exported furs, textiles (especially from the east: Turkish mohair, silk, and Turkish cotton, or *bagazja*), and hides (particularly chamois, or *skóry zamszowe*). Jakub Nosson's operations extended to Lwów as well, where he acquired some of his merchandise. As noted earlier, these goods were characteristic of Jewish merchants of the period. By 1641–45, Pińczów (with 20 percent of the Jewish merchants) had reached the level of Opatów (with 18 percent) and, perhaps, displaced it as the second town after Chęciny. The underrepresentation of Sandomierz Jewish merchants in these records is puzzling during a period when they were quite active in Gdańsk, particularly as exporters of hides.

On the basis of all the available data, then, it would appear that the Jewish merchants of Opatów occupied a prominent but not preeminent place in re-

lation to the commercial activities in domestic and foreign trade of Jewish merchants of other towns of the region. Chęciny, Sandomierz, and, from about 1615, Pińczów seem to have been even more dynamic centers of Jewish commercial activity in the first half of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, a pocket calendar for merchants, published in Hebrew in Cracow for the year 1641–42 and listing more than 250 fairs, shows for the Sandomierz region only the fairs in Sandomierz itself (September 9) and Opatów (November 11).[58]

LEASEHOLDING

It seems likely that the Jew Wolff Opatoviensis, mentioned above, who sold grain in Nowy Sącz in 1607, obtained it in his capacity as lessee of two mills in Nowy Sącz.[59] In Opatów itself, the 1618 inventory listed a certain Lipman who held the contract for the mills in that year. With one other exception, however, the nature of the contracts held by the other Jews referred to in the records of this period as *arrendators* of Opatów cannot be determined.[60]

According to a contract dated 1640, two Jews, father and son, leased all of the holdings belonging to Władysław Dominik Ostrogski in the Sandomierz area for three years, beginning in 1641, for 25,000 zloties per year.[61] The contract was to take effect at the end of the term of the previous lessee, a certain gentryman (*szlachcić*) called Wiszowiaty. The latter's administration had evoked numerous complaints.[62] Ostrogski's estates—that is, the Opatów holding (*klucz*)—included the town of Opatów, the townlets of Denków and Ćmielów, and twenty-three villages. The terms of the contract were not unusual, though one passage is striking. It required Jewish lessees to ensure that the traditional tithes due to the church be paid in accordance with custom and to present receipts at the expiration of their contract, as proof that this had been done. In one version of the contract, the parties were Abraham Jachimowicz (ben Ḥayyim) and his son, Icko (Yiṣḥaq) Abramowicz. In another version, in the same file, the signatories were Icko Abramowicz and Marek Baruchowicz of Lublin.[63] Likely, all three were involved in the management of the holding.

CHRISTIAN-JEWISH TENSIONS

Contracts such as this, with both Jewish and Christian lessees, were characteristic of the management of the Opatów holding by the Ostrogskis during the first half of the seventeenth century; Jews certainly had no monopoly on the contracts.[64] It may be significant, however, that during the year previous to the negotiation of the particular contract just mentioned, that is, in 1639, there were anti-Jewish riots in Opatów, in the course of which the Jewish

cemetery was desecrated. The provocation for the incident—Jews carrying on business on Good Friday and selling meat on Easter Sunday—led a local preacher (*kanonik kaznodzieja*), Szymon Żelowski, to foment the attack. After the event, the Jewish community complained to Bishop Zadzik of Cracow, who ordered Żelowski to a monastery for three months' meditation.[65] It will be recalled that Ostrogski's privilege of 1633 specifically forbade Christian interference with Jewish commercial rights. One wonders, though, whether the town owner had in mind Jews doing business on the holiest days of the Christian calendar. If they in fact did so, it certainly would have constituted a provocation during a period when the triumphant progress of the counter-reformation was in full swing in Poland.

A biproduct of the religious enthusiasm of the period was the spreading of blood libel and host desecration charges against Jews.[66] The bishop's rebuke of the priest-provocateur recalls the dismissal of a blood libel charge in Mińsk by the crown tribunal in 1641.[67] That is, there were some grounds for the self-confidence evidenced by Opatów Jewish merchants carrying on their business in normal fashion on Good Friday. Presuming the charge to be true, what must have exercised the priest was the willingness of Christian customers to patronize Jews' shops and stalls on that day. It should be recalled that canon law, as well as its reflection in the so-called Magdeburg law, forbade Jews to leave their houses or even to open their windows on Good Friday.[68] The riot of 1639 must have shaken Jewish self-confidence and could have led Abraham and his son Isaac to seek the *arenda* contract for the town to increase the security of the Jewish community.

There was, in Opatów, then, a group of prosperous Jews pursuing commerce and leasing *arenda* contracts. The existing sources do not provide a basis for any statement about Jewish artisans except for the butchers whose rights were mentioned in the privilege of 1633. The requirement that they pay one hundred zloties per year means there was a substantial number of them, but no precise estimate of that number is possible.

THE RABBIS OF OPATÓW

The inventory of 1618 listed the residence of a cantor, a "cantorek," as well as a house, presumably owned by the community, for the rabbi. The first rabbi of the community whose name has been preserved, Yiṣḥaq ben Eliaqim Heilpron, also served as head of the *yeshiva*.[69] According to one scholar, Heilpron came to Opatów in about 1550 to take up his position, but this seems too early in light of the fact that most authorities date his death between 1641 and 1645.[70] He was certainly in office in Opatów before 1590; a question of his was included in the *responsa* of R. Yosef Katz, which were published in that year. Heilpron, described as residing in Opatów, asked Katz about the

acceptability of an arrangement made in the ritual bath (*miqveh*) in Opatów in order to cope with its great depth.[71] In an undated question addressed to his teacher, Me'ir Lublin (1550–1616), Heilpron was joined by a certain Bunem, "and the other heads and leaders of the . . . holy community of Opatów."[72]

Heilpron himself wrote at least one book, *Sefer qiṣur Abravanel,* a condensation of two works by Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508): *Naḥalat avot* and *Zevaḥ pesaḥ.* The book received the formal approbation of the Council of the Lands in 1603 and was published in Lublin during the following year.[73] In 1604 and 1606, at least, Heilpron himself also attended meetings of the council, in the course of which he joined his signature to the council's authorization of other books.[74] By that time, however, he had very likely taken up a rabbinical post in Lwów. Heilpron's individual endorsement appeared in at least three other works of the period.[75]

Among those who joined the council's approbation of Heilpron's book was Moshe ben Avraham of Przemyśl. He was apparently briefly the rabbi of Opatów, where he died in 1605 or 1606. A student of Solomon Luria (1510–74), Moshe was the author of four books.[76] He was followed in office by Yisra'el Isser ben Re'uven Simḥah Bunem Meisels, a student of Joel Sirkes (1561–1640).[77] Perhaps his father was the Bunem referred to in Me'ir Lublin's *responsum* mentioned above. According to some sources, Meisels was followed by Eliyahu Ha-Levi Oettingen and then by Eliyahu Kalmankes ben Avraham, who died in Opatów in the spring of 1636.[78] Oettingen was definitely rabbi of Węgrów by 1645, when he published *Sefer berit ha-levi.* Both Eliyahu Kalmankes and his brother, Yosef, were born in Opatów.[79]

From about 1639 until 1650 or 1651, the rabbi of Opatów was Eli'ezer ben Shmu'el, he-ḥassid, Heilmans, Ish-Ṣevi, Ashkenazi. He usually used two of these four descriptive cognomens. Seven of his approbations are known.[80] He himself wrote at least two books: *Siaḥ ha-sadeh* (Lublin, 1645), and *Dameseq eli'ezer al ḥullin* (Lublin, 1646). Known as a stringent interpreter of the law, he criticized Joel Sirkes's encouragement of the acceptance of gifts and the accumulation of wealth by *yeshiva* heads and advocated, instead, a fixed wage for heads of *yeshivas.*[81]

Opatów, then, had a series of distinguished and influential rabbis during the seventy-five years that preceded 1650. Many of them attended meetings of the Council of the Lands and were called upon to grant their imprimatur to rabbinical works published by scholars of the period.

THE POTOP *IN OPATÓW*

In the space of less than ten years, beginning in 1648, the Polish Commonwealth faced five armies: Ukrainian cossacks (accompanied initially by Tatar

forces), Russians, Swedes, Brandenburg Prussians, and Transylvanians. All of these campaigns led to loss of life and to destruction of property, in some cases on an enormous scale. At the same time, pestilence accompanied war, and epidemics raged; thousands died in Cracow and Toruń, in Gdańsk and Sandomierz, and elsewhere. Perhaps because of the national and religious character of the war against the Swedes, Polish Christian historical memory has tended to select and to emphasize the six years of the Swedish occupation, 1655–60. These are referred to as the years of the deluge (*potop*).[82]

To be sure, the Swedish invasion touched a much larger proportion of the country than any other incursion. Further, in the national memory, the "miracle" at Jasna Góra at the end of 1655—when that monastery in Częstochowa, housing the shrine of the icon of the black Madonna, resisted a Swedish siege—was what galvanized Polish resistance and unleashed a Polish (Catholic) "crusade" against the (Protestant) Swedes. Some had heard that Charles X boasted to Cromwell that soon not a single papist would be left in Poland. The fact that the Polish aristocracy had learned that the Swedish king, to whom many had shifted their allegiance, proposed to follow an absolutist course and was not disposed to accept the traditional freedoms of the Polish *szlachta* contributed to their disillusionment with the Swedes and their willingness to resist.

Earlier, when the Swedes invaded with a 40,000-man army, Great Poland had surrendered without a fight (July 25, 1655), as had Warsaw on September 8, 1655. Janusz Radziwiłł, after losing Wilno (Vilna) to the Russians, accepted Swedish protection. The majority of the commonwealth's army switched its loyalty to Charles X. The king, Jan Kazimierz, fled to Silesia. Stefan Czarniecki, however, after evacuating Cracow on October 19, did not follow the trend and, in the following months, organized a sort of guerrilla resistance against the occupiers.[83] Meanwhile, other units of the Polish army regrouped, the king returned to Poland, and the anti-Swedish campaign was launched.

For Jews, on the contrary, the Ukrainian cossack uprising, led by Bogdan Chmielnicki, and the accompanying massacres of Jews in the southeast were among their most prominent historical memories. These events were referred to as *gezeres takh ve-tat* (the evil decrees) of 1648–49.[84] Indeed, by the spring of 1650, an annual fast day on the twentieth of the Hebrew month of Sivan had been proclaimed by the Council of the Lands, and memorial prayers, eulogies, and other works had begun to appear.[85] The murder, assault, and destruction wreaked by the Ukrainian cossacks were followed in their turn by brutal attacks on Jews by invading Russian troops in the northeast in 1654 and 1655 and by the slaughter of Jews in many communities in the western and central regions by Czarniecki's irregulars in 1655–57.

In the midseventeenth century, the region with the largest number of Jews

was precisely the one most affected by Ukrainian forces. And those attacks had the traumatic impact of a sudden and unexpected disaster.[86] A number of works were composed in memory of the martyrs of 1648–49, but only one short book, devoted mainly to *geszeres takh ve-tat,* also memorialized the martyrs of the 1650s. Written by Shmu'el Feivish ben Nathan Feidel of Vienna, and entitled, *Tit ha-yeven,* it clearly identified Czarniecki as an enemy and attacker of the Jews.[87] In prayers recited in Sandomierz, Cracow, and Pińczów in memory of those Jews who were murdered in 1656, the name of the attacker was not recalled.[88] Perhaps because in the eyes of their Catholic neighbors Czarniecki was a national hero, Jews chose to deemphasize the massacres of 1656 and 1657.[89]

Many Jewish communities in Great Poland were attacked by Czarniecki's troops. The pretext for the slaughter of Jews, and of Protestants, was the contention that they had collaborated with the Lutheran Swedes. By the end of January 1656, Czarniecki had moved east into Little Poland and had reached Sandomierz.[90] The large Swedish camp was just across the Vistula when Czarniecki and his forces entered the town, which had been virtually destroyed when it was captured from the Swedes by other Polish units.[91] Here too, the Polish forces were convinced that Jews were guilty of collaboration and that, as a contemporary noted, when it came to "robbing manors and churches, they were not only helpers but were the driving force."[92] This passage demonstrates, as Israel Halpern has pointed out, that the oft-repeated contention that a force of several hundred young Jews fought alongside the Polish Christian soldiers at Sandomierz is baseless and derives from a misreading of Pufendorf's biography of the Swedish king.[93] In the minute book of the Sandomierz synagogue there were special memorial prayers for Jews murdered at this time (March–April 1656), and it is virtually certain that the culprits were Polish, not Swedish troops.[94]

Indeed, Opatów itself was mentioned in *Tit ha-yeven.* In a passage listing communities where Jews were murdered by the forces of Czarniecki, the author wrote, "he came to the holy community of Opatów where there were two hundred householders, great and wealthy, and almost all were killed in a single abomination."[95] Since it is known that Czarniecki was indeed in Opatów in February 1656, and in view of the evidence regarding nearby Sandomierz, there seems little reason to doubt that Czarniecki's or other Polish units attacked and murdered Jews in Opatów during the first months of 1656.

The occasion for Czarniecki's presence in Opatów was the *sejmik's* call to the region to rally to the support of the newly returned Polish king.[96] As in Sandomierz, Jews were doubtless accused of treason. In the new enthusiasm of the anti-Swedish campaign among the young men preparing themselves for battle, this would have led to brutality, robbery, rape, and murder. In April 1656, the king, Jan Kazimierz, still apparently unaffected by accusa-

tions of disloyalty against the Jews, ordered his army commander to protect the Jewish population.[97] During the following year, again in the spring, Czarniecki's troops and other Polish units were in the vicinity of Opatów once more, as was Rakoczy.[98] According to one (undocumented) history, it was the latter's troops which, on their way to Warsaw, plundered Opatów.[99] By this time (March 1657), the monarch was either convinced of Jewish treachery or determined to use the accusation for his own ends. He ordered the Jews of Poland to pay 100,000 zloties against future taxes immediately, on pain of expulsion.[100] It would seem that the Jews faced, at least momentarily, the same fate as the Arian Protestants who were indeed expelled from Poland in the following year.

The memorial prayer recorded in the minute book of the synagogue in Pińczów refers to Jewish martyrs of this time in the following towns in the Sandomierz *województwo:* Chęciny, Zwoleń, Sandomierz, Opatów, Tarłów, Klimontów, Pińczów, Raków, and Chmielnik. The memorial prayer recited in Cracow, which refers to the year 1656, mentions Wiśnicz, Sandomierz, Opatów, Chęciny and Tarłów.[101] According to *Tit ha-yeven,* there were massacres in Chęciny, Opatów, and Chmielnik. The chronicler also indicates that the Jews of Raków, Szydłów, and Wodzisław fled to Pińczów. There, according to a doubtful reading of a very corrupt text, "there were about 1,000 householders, who nevertheless benefited from the charity of their duke, called Margrave, like . . . [unclear] . . . and he . . . [unclear] . . . with Jews with great strength."[102]

In other words, it seems the Jews of Pińczów, together with refugees from neighboring towns, were protected by the town owner against attacks by marauding troops. Perhaps the chronicle refers to events in 1656, while the memorial prayer of the synagogue of Pińczów includes victims of 1657 as well.

Not only was Opatów likely devastated by troops at least twice in two years, but it did not escape the widespread epidemics of the 1650s, either. Indeed, the Sandomierz *sejmik* failed to meet in Opatów only once during more than 200 years. This was in 1652, when, because the plague was particularly virulent, the *szlachta* were forced to convene elsewhere.[103] At about this time also, the Jews of Opatów had to face an accusation of beating a Christian girl, but this episode will be taken up below.

There are no sources by which to estimate the precise extent of the damage to Opatów and to Opatów's Jews during the period of the *potop.* In the region and in Małopolska in general, the losses were devastating, with often 30 or even 50 percent of the population and even larger proportions of property being lost.[104] The royal survey carried out in the Sandomierz *województwo* in 1660 reflects the extent of the damage, at least in the crown towns. In almost every case in which the number of houses recorded was listed together with

the number in 1629, the loss exceeded 50 percent.[105] It would be unjustified, however, in the absence of more concrete evidence, to assume that the town of Opatów was affected in the same measure. Indeed, one rather flimsy bit of information bearing directly on Opatów seems to indicate that the town was not badly damaged during 1656 and 1657.

A tax summary (*regestr czynszów*), dated December 14, 1657, lists the property taxes and the annual payments of the barber-surgeons and the butchers to the town owner.[106] The document is poorly preserved, and the figure next to the entry "capitation tax from Jews" has become unreadable. A comparison of the legible figures, however, with the parallel categories in 1618, shows only a small decline in the property tax figures from almost 55 zloties to about 48½ zloties.[107] The payments of the butchers and the barber-surgeons were the same in both years. The comparison, however, is rendered virtually meaningless once the violent inflation, particularly of the five years or so following 1618, is taken into account. During the first half of the seventeenth century, salaries roughly doubled, while the Polish coin lost about two-thirds of its value. Only one item, in fact, can be salvaged for comparison. In both 1618 and 1657, the butchers had to make a payment representing twenty "stalls." In other words, none of these stalls, it would seem, was destroyed in the intervening period. This would indicate, as well, that neither the number of butchers nor the demand for meat had diminished. On the other hand, what might be called the conservative tendency of the chancellery may account for the perpetuation of certain entries in the records even when they did not necessarily correspond to reality. This one datum is an insufficient basis for determining the impact of the *potop* on Opatów.

The only other reference to this period, from Opatów itself, is an entry from the minute book of the Jewish Burial Society in September 1662. It notes the great destruction around the graves of the "martyrs" (*qedoshim*) of the community and that all four walls of the cemetery had been burned and smashed. "Every passerby is shocked," and the society resolved to build new walls around all of the graves.[108] Finally, the national tax roll reported 172 houses in Opatów in 1662. This was slightly less than half of the number listed in the 1618 inventory of the town. Even if allowance is made for underreporting and evasion, the disparity in the two figures nonetheless indicates substantial loss of property, which occurred, more than likely, in 1656 or 1657.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Contemporary research continues to modify the conventional notion that the second half of the seventeenth century was a period of unremitting economic

regression, and that, in particular, the money-goods economy was abandoned, leading to the collapse of the cities.[109] The picture turns out to be much more varied than the undifferentiated decline depicted in earlier historiography. Older trading centers such as Gniezno, Poznań, Lublin, and to a somewhat lesser extent, Cracow, did lose much of their importance. Other regions and towns, however, experienced expansion at precisely the same time, most notably, of course, Warsaw, but also private towns such as Zamość, Pińczów, Łuck, and Szkłow. Indeed, a number of Belorussian-Lithuanian centers fairly boomed during this period.[110] In this period, as well, Jews became more prominent in certain areas of Polish commerce, notably the overland trade with the west, as well as domestic trade.[111] In general, however, the period between the *potop* and the Northern War at the beginning of the eighteenth century is probably the most obscure in the history of early modern Poland, mainly, one surmises, because it is the least documented.[112]

Certainly, in the case of Opatów, the source material is rather thin. There were, nevertheless, indications of vitality and expansion on the Jewish side of the town sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the community recovered quickly from the blows it suffered during the sixth decade. The sources, however, are too scanty to enable a precise reconstruction of that recovery.[113] It does seem that, while Sandomierz was one of those towns that never regained their former vitality after the *potop,* Pińczów developed at a pace even more rapid than Opatów's and assumed a position that would put it well ahead of Opatów in size and commercial prominence in the eighteenth century. By 1672, the elders of the Jewish community of Pińczów were empowered by the Council of the Lands to limit settlement. The movement of so many outsiders into the town, they had complained—no doubt with some hyperbole—was impoverishing the community's resident members.[114]

One index of comparison between Pińczów and Opatów is the greater participation of Jewish merchants from the former town in international trade, particularly through Breslau. There are figures for Polish Jewish "Breslauer Messgäste" for the seven years between 1651 and 1702. The total number from Pińczów was eighteen, while the total from Opatów was only four.[115] Breslau, in this period, was preferred to Leipzig by Jewish merchants because of the discriminatory fees demanded of Jews visiting the Leipzig fairs.[116] It is true, though, that the Leipzig figures for the same period were three from Pińczów and four from Opatów.[117] Also, some Opatów Jews may have been involved in trade with Ukrainian and Lithuanian-Belorussian areas. It would seem that the level of their international commercial activity at this time was rather limited.

A similar picture emerges from an examination of the *korobka*—or commercial tax regulations—of 1665. The *korobka* was a Jewish communal assessment on commercial profits or income imposed on most Polish-Lithuanian

communities during the second half of the seventeenth or the early eighteenth centuries.[118] Some of the Opatów regulations were published by Majer Bałaban on the basis of the communal minute book in 1912.[119] The rate of taxation was generally less than 1 percent; the profits of artisans, *arrendators,* and cloth merchants, however, were taxed at a somewhat higher rate.[120] The list of goods mentioned was rather short. It included tallow and soap, wax and cloth (*sukno*), as well as wine, mead, vodka, and anise, which was used mainly to flavor vodka. The comestibles mentioned were cows, bulls, calves and lambs, salted fish, herring, oats, wheat, and salt. The most elaborate entry gives the rates on six different types of hides (ox, cow, sheep, calf, lamb, and goat). This last is not surprising, since at least the small-scale trade in hides was dominated by Jews in this period.[121]

Evidence of Opatów's growing prominence was the appearance in the town of members of some of the most distinguished families of the Polish-Lithuanian Jewish "aristocracy." One of these was Isaac Ḥarif (Yiṣḥaq ben Binyamin Ze'ev Wolf) of Krotoszyn. His grandfather had been rabbi of Poznań, his father, rabbi of Krotoszyn. Isaac was married to the daughter of the wealthy Naḥum of Sandomierz.[122] His first rabbinical post was in Chęciny, and he took up the position of *av beit din* (chief judge or rabbi) in Opatów in about 1668. He remained there for six (or nine) years, after which he moved to take up the even more prestigious office of *av beit din* and head of the *yeshiva* of Cracow and the district. He died in Cracow in 1682. The previous year he had been appointed factor of the Polish king,[123] indicating that Isaac was not only a rabbi but a merchant of considerable wealth and prominence. In this context, it is noteworthy that he had been replaced as head of the *yeshiva* in Cracow in 1680. One of Isaac's daughters married Yeḥezqel ben Binyamin Wolf Landau (died c1686), the son of another aristocratic Jewish family, the head of the *yeshiva,* a judge of the Opatów community, and active in commerce. He appeared at the Leipzig fair in 1680; and in 1683, with two partners, he leased the *korobka* from the kahal.[124] The Landau family would later have a decisive impact on the Jewish community in Opatów and on East European Jewry in general.[125]

There is some information as well about four other leaders of the Opatów community during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Leybusz Jozephowicz (Yehuda? Leib ben Yosef) was a brewer and distiller. In 1670, he held the license for the distilling of liquor in the town, and the following year he obtained a writ from Alexander Janusz Ostrogski permitting him to acquire property for the construction of a brewery and malthouse in Opatów. According to the document, he was to enjoy the right to brew beer and malt for all time.[126] He must have been a kahal elder, because it was he, together with Mendel Jozephowicz, who deposited the privilege of the community for official registration (oblation) at the Sandomierz district court (*gród*) in 1689.[127]

Mendel Jozephowicz (or Aharon Menaḥem Mendel, died 1706) was an elder both of the community and of the *galil,* or district.[128] He also participated in at least two meetings of the Council of the Lands, in 1688 and in 1692.[129] Mendel was praised for his kindness in a book called *Avaq soferim* by Avraham Qonqi, who was an emissary in Europe seeking donations for the Jews of the Holy Land. Qonqui also quoted a novel interpretation of a verse in scripture he had heard from the "beloved and faithful" Mendel of Opatów.[130] Mendel Jozephowicz was a textile merchant dealing mainly in expensive, luxury fabrics.[131] Of the two other elders of the community at this time about whom some information has been preserved, one (Ḥayyim) was an *arrendator* and brewer, and the other was a wealthy textile merchant. The latter, Yiṣḥaq ben Avraham (Icko Abrahamowicz), attended the Leipzig fairs in 1697, 1698, and 1701. On his death around 1707, the value of his inventory exceeded 12,000 zloties.[132]

The composite picture of the leaders of the community at the end of the seventeenth century that emerges, then, is of both merchants and *arrendators* taking virtually equally prominent roles. It would be very surprising indeed to find an artisan in a leadership position, even though artisanry was the occupation of a significant proportion of the population.

Although the available sources are almost entirely silent on the subject of Jewish artisans during this period, one development that affected them is known. After his marriage to Teofila Ludwika, sister of Aleksander Janusz Ostrogski, Dimitr Jerzy Korybut Wiśniowiecki took over the administration of Opatów. This occurred sometime during the 1670s and by 1678, Wiśniowiecki had issued a new "constitution" (*prawa miasta*) for the town. Unfortunately, the text has not been preserved. From references to certain artisan guild charters issued by Wiśniowiecki, it is clear that he envisioned both Jewish and Christian membership in the town's artisan guilds.[133] It is not known whether or not this was an innovation. At one point, with reference to the guild of storekeepers and hosiers, it was said that Jewish salt dealers were "obliged to belong to the guild as of old."[134] Whether it began earlier or was a result of Wiśniowiecki's reform, the policy persisted into the eighteenth century.[135] The degree to which Jews complied with the regulation is not clear, since in 1708 there were complaints that Jews had not joined one of the guilds (*paśniczy,* the guild of leather belt makers).[136] The response to this complaint by the town owner's commissioners noted a privilege granted this guild by Wiśniowiecki in 1678, requiring that everyone pursuing this trade belong to the guild. They demanded, therefore, that Jews who wished to carry on their occupation and who had not yet joined the guild, do so within four weeks.

The privileges chartering these guilds took account of the Jews' inability to participate in the special liturgies and other church-related activities of the

guild (*iż nie mogą kościelny* [!] *służby odbywać*). On the other hand, each Jewish member of the guild of shopkeepers and hosiers, for example, was expected to provide funds equal to the value of the wax for candles, which the Christian members of the guild gave on Corpus Christi and during Lent.[137] In this way, the Jewish members avoided contributing directly to the facilitation of Christian worship. Nevertheless, the guilds obviously retained their Christian character in this period, which may partially explain the Jews' apparent reluctance to join them. The town owner's concern to reduce competition clashed, in this instance, with Jewish values and material interests.

Another contradiction between interests and values—but this within the Jewish community—was a consequence of the growing Jewish settlement in Opatów. During the summer of 1687, the Council of the Lands took note of the "great and bitter" complaint of the leaders of the Jewish community of Opatów to the effect that "many people were coming to live and to settle there, and burdening the community."[138] This had evoked "much complaint and perniciousness from the evil place" (*ha-maqom ha-rashʿa*), that is, from the Christian municipal authorities.[139] And further, there were frequent excesses on the part of those who gathered in Opatów regularly for meetings of the *sejmiki*. This was well known, and the Opatów leaders had "gone on at great length" on the subject. Seeing justice in the communal leaders' demand, the elders of the council acceded to it. They decreed that no one was permitted to live or to settle in Opatów without the communal leaders' consent and empowered the elders to expel those who settled without permission. Indeed, Opatów was granted status and authority in this sphere matching that of the four leading communities (presumably, Cracow, Poznań, Lwów, and Lublin) of the Four Lands. "Moreover, it is well known that this community has but one street, and its borders cannot be expanded." For all these reasons, and "lest the natives be cast down and the strangers rise higher to the heavens,"[140] the elders of the Council of the Lands saw fit "to double and to triple" communal leaders' authority in the matter of settlement.

This edict of the Council of the Lands could not have been intended to grant the communal leaders to Opatów control of the right of settlement in their community. The Opatów kahal had had the power to bestow or remove the right of settlement for at least two decades before 1687. The communal minute book recorded in 1670 a list of sixteen men to whom the right of settlement was not to be granted without the approval of two-thirds of the elders of the community. And, a number of similar, if less sweeping, actions of this sort were taken by the communal elders before 1687.[141] The action by the council was intended to raise the status of the community from one with merely the right to limit settlement to that of "one of the four leading communities." The precise meaning of this change, however, is not known.

The elevation of the status of Opatów very likely did not mean that local

elders could admit or expel a Jew not only to or from Opatów but also to or from its daughter communities. At least one community, in the town of Tarłów, had been subject to Opatów's authority since at least 1665.[142] However, a communal decision taken in 1695 to remove the right of residence of a certain Shelomoh ben David excluded him also from "our region" (*galil*) and "the communities subject to our authority."[143] Of the materials preserved from the communal minute book and related to the removal of the right of settlement, this was the earliest extension of the territorial scope of the ban to include the daughter communities. So it is possible that the change in Opatów's status extending its control over its region included matters of settlement.[144]

The reference to the violence at meetings of the *sejmiki* in Opatów, although obscure, seems to point to the fact that the larger and more visible the community, the greater the dangers it faced. Violence and brawls were a regular feature of those regional gatherings, or dietines, of the gentry (*szlachta*). Wealthy gentrymen traveled with large and often boisterous retinues. Jewish communities in places where such gatherings occurred took various steps to protect themselves. Jews in Lublin, for example, made routine gifts to the marshall of the crown tribunal and held a fast day regularly during its sessions.[145]

In 1680, after numerous riots and tumults in the preceding years, the assembled delegates of the *sejmik* of Sandomierz in Opatów resolved to appear for future meetings without "foreigners and attendants."[146] Apparently, however, the resolution had little effect, and violence continued to be a feature of these meetings.[147] Jews made regular payments to officials of the *sejmik,* and gave payoffs to the *renerlekh* of the delegates—their servants and members of their retinues—in an attempt to prevent attacks.[148] In the eighteenth century, still further steps were taken to protect the community.

3

Jews and Other Poles

The Jews of Poland thought of themselves, and were thought of by other Jews and by Christians, as a collectivity with a particular identity defined by the political boundaries of their country of residence.[1] In contrast, the Christians living in the cities and towns of the Polish Commonwealth had no self-conscious sense of identity beyond the boundaries of their own town and were not to develop one before the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[2] The question of self-definition is made even more vexing when one realizes that, as Janusz Tazbir has established, the Polish gentry thought of itself as coterminous, collectively, with the concept of Polishness.[3] A kind of ideology developed reflecting this concept, which found expression in attitudes, in behavior, and in law, and in consequence of which the towns were excluded, totally, from political power.[4]

Among Jews in the Polish Commonwealth, there developed an undeniable Polish self-identification. The Jews' universe was larger than their local places of residence. To be sure, this broader sense of identity was most particularly and clearly reflected among the upper stratum of Polish Jewry: in their marriage alliances, in their educational and occupational careers, and in their self-understanding. Contemporary Jewish literature made very clear distinctions between the people of Poland and the people of Ashkenaz (German lands). Thus a young Jewish man from Altona who found himself in Opatów praised it as, "first in quality among the cities of Poland." Nevertheless, he found the religious customs, the language, and the culture completely foreign.[5] Some Polish Jews had the sense that Jews in German lands enjoyed greater stability of their fortunes than they did in Poland. In a book published in 1768, a Polish rabbi quoted his own father, who had asked, "How is it that in Poland wealth is so fleeting? If it is to be found at all, it will be found with one person in a town, but only for one generation. In German lands, in the majority of cases, wealth is passed on from one generation to the next."[6]

Others, too, distinguished between Polish and German Jews. In 1791, a Warsaw newspaper carried an article written by the journal's Berlin correspondent to mark the fifth anniversary of the death of Moses Mendelssohn. The report mentioned some of the Berlin Jewry's leading lights, including Hartwig Wessely and Isaac Euchel, and purported to analyze the "moral and political" situation of the Jews of Prussia in general, and Berlin in particular. The dispatch concluded, "For us, accustomed to seeing our Itsiks and Moshkes sitting in the inns and getting the people drunk, it is amazing [to behold] people of the same nation and faith in other lands who are so useful and enlightened."[7]

There was also a sense of permanence and rootedness about the Polish Jewish community itself; its members did not see themselves as mere sojourners.[8] They lived in Poyln, a land suffused with the fear of heaven and the study of Torah. In the words of one preacher of the age, Polish Jews were "best suited to bring the time of redemption closer. [They were] first in all holy matters."[9] Indeed, only the miraculous appearance of the messiah would bring an end to their residence in Poland. This perception of the Polish Jewish community as a permanent part of Polish society was shared by non-Jews in the commonwealth. Legislation adopted—and repeated more than once in the first half of the eighteenth century—forbade not only the establishment of new places of worship by non-Catholics but also the recruitment of foreign teachers and preachers. Public worship, sermons, and even singing at private services were prohibited. From all these laws, Jews were specifically and explicitly exempt.[10] Jews were different; they were an integral part of the Polish social landscape.

JEWISH POLES

In their own eyes, in the eyes of Jews from elsewhere, and in the eyes of non-Jews, Polish Jews were an identifiable group, and that identity was incontestably Polish. Indeed, one might maintain on this basis that, at least ontologically, the only Poles in the cities and towns of Poland were Jews. In the eighteenth century, it must be recalled, about half of the urban residents in the commonwealth were Jews, and in some regions, the proportion was even higher. The very numerical strength of the community, its ramified institutional organization, and its generally successful political strategy of defense all contributed to the development of a Polish Jewish community characterized by vitality, rootedness, and self-confidence.

On the estates and in the private towns of the magnate-aristocrats and the gentry, where close to three-quarters of Polish Jewry lived, Jews sought and usually received the protection of these patrons. Whatever estate owners' may have felt personally about Jews, it was in their interest to protect the revenues

that depended on the Jews' presence. This, and the fact that in most private towns there was little direct competition between Jews and Christians, tended to moderate active expressions of anti-Jewish animus. Faced with the contempt of a clergyman, or the resentment of a Christian artisan or merchant, or the high-handedness of a *szlachcić,* or the violence of a peasant, Jews cringed if necessary and fought back if possible. Poland was theirs as much as their neighbors'.

Obviously, personal relations between Jews and Christians were mediated, decisively, by their religious difference. The *halakha* and the traditions of Jews, no less than the canon law and the traditions of Christians, sought to limit contacts with outsiders of the other religion.[11] There was a tendency in each group to think of the other as an undifferentiated collectivity, naturally hostile—and worse. The norms of both the church and the synagogue were strongly segregationist in their intent. Each faith taught that the other was spiritually and morally inferior. There is no question that animus and tension were the governing qualities in relations between Jews and Christians.[12] The historical issue is how this animus was expressed in relations between particular people and groups of people at particular times and in particular places. In Opatów, for example, Jews did not follow the practice, prescribed by the church, of holding their funerals quietly (*bez pompy, bez ognia i asystencji*) at dusk. For this reason, the bishop of Kiev, Załuski, recorded as a curiosity that in 1768 he had witnessed a public Jewish funeral in Opatów.[13]

Most historians of Poland, even those who specialize in the social and economic history of the cities and towns, have stopped at the boundaries of the Jewish street, claiming it was "entirely separate,"[14] "hermetically sealed,"[15] or "a world apart."[16] Thus, the Jewish presence is rarely incorporated in their studies. Historians of the Jews, for their part, have tended to assume that Jews lacked all interest in their surroundings and that they lived in a society little touched by meaningful contact with Christians.[17] Yet any analysis—nay, even a glance—at the ritual objects produced by Jews in Poland will show that Jews were influenced by the same broad trends of artistic expression as their Christian neighbors. Moreover, there were Jews, usually individual families, living in at least fifty-six villages around Opatów by 1787.[18] It would defy all logic to speak of them as living in a world apart. In the town, too, as the local Jewish preacher remarked, "each seller on market day has known customers for his goods."[19]

Certainly no one would contend that the history of the Jews in Poland was simply part of a monolithic Polish experience. On the other hand, it would be incorrect to maintain that Jews were a world apart. In fact, many "worlds" coexisted in the society of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In looking at the history of the cities, towns, and villages of Poland, one sees that there

were moments during which—and sectors within which—Jews and Christians did more than just live side by side. Jews and Christians met and interacted. Their histories are not separate ones. They interlock, and they need to be understood in the light of that interrelationship.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC ARGUMENT

While some historians have argued for apartness on the basis of language, more Jews communicated in Polish than is usually assumed.[20] Who, after all, translated the several dozen Polish documents that reproduced portions of the minute book of the kahal of Opatów? In what language did the Jewish shopkeepers speak to argue prices with their customers? The more persuasive argument for separateness—indeed, even hermetical separateness—is based on the difference between the demographic history of Jews and that of their neighbors.

The proportion of Jews in the Polish population increased dramatically between the midseventeenth century and the last quarter of the eighteenth century and may, indeed, have doubled. This has piqued the curiosity of historians, because there was no significant migration of Jews into Poland during that period. Since the explanation for the faster rate of expansion of Jewish numbers was almost certainly a lower rate of infant mortality,[21] this is a very powerful argument in favor of the cultural and physical isolation of the Jewish population: culturally, in terms of practices related to marriage, hygiene, diet, and child rearing; and physically, in terms of the spread of infection and communicable diseases.

Even this apparently powerful argument, however, must be examined closely. While it is true that urban European populations in this period, including Polish ones, generally failed to reproduce themselves, the upper strata of the urban population were able to do so.[22] If the increase in Jewish numbers had to do with certain characteristics peculiar to the upper stratum of Jewish society, namely early marriage, then here, too, Jews may not have been so distinct as one might have thought.

The possible demographic similarity, the likelihood of social and cultural interaction, and the doctrinal symmetry described above should not be misunderstood. No attempt is being made here to supply evidence for the frequent contention in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writings that Poland was, among other things, Paradisus Judaeorum. If Jews felt themselves at home in Poland, and if they seemed to dominate urban life, they were, nevertheless, Jews in a Christian land. No Jews dared to libel Christians with a charge of ritual murder or desecration of the host. No Christians were tortured by Jewish jailers. No Jews carried out pogroms on the Christian streets.

PRIESTS AND JEWS

During the second half of the seventeenth and the first two decades of the eighteenth centuries, there was a series of anti-Jewish provocations in Opatów. Attempts were made to create situations in which Jews would have been tried for beating a Christian girl (c1650), for desecration of the Host (1689), for ritual murder (c1706), for witchcraft (c1710), and for robbing churches (1712). Although the available sources do not allow us to reconstruct these events in great detail, enough is known to be able to point to the consistent ability of the Jewish community to extricate itself—if not unscathed, at least unharmed by these dangerous threats. While the emphasis in what follows is on the confidence of Jews and their facility in self-defense, it should not be forgotten that it was precisely because they were Jews that they were exposed to such dangers.

Sometime between 1649 and 1655, "the Jews" were accused of beating a Christian girl.[23] No specific individual was actually accused or arrested, but the Jews were compelled to pay the very large sum of 1,000 zloties annually to the collegiate church to "atone" for the spilling of the girl's blood. By 1695 at the latest, the sum was treated as a loan, and the Jewish community paid only interest—and at a relatively low rate (4 percent) at that.[24]

In 1689, two Jews were imprisoned, accused of desecrating a Host and a crucifix. At the inquiry, however, the witnesses presented no evidence, even denying what they had said earlier. According to the notorious Stefan Żuchowski—fomenter of two ritual murder trials in Sandomierz—the Jews of Opatów had purchased the silence of the witnesses.[25] There were similar developments when, in 1706 or 1713, the body of a drowned child was discovered. According to a local priest, a search was conducted among the Jews, and the guilty woman was found. An inquiry instituted by the municipal court soon stopped, because Jews had bribed the officials.[26] Żuchowski, whose book (his second) was published in 1713, did not mention the case, although he would have been expected to do so; this is the reason for the uncertain dating. However, he did accuse the Jews of Opatów and elsewhere of dealing in church silver stolen "by scoundrels" from four area churches.[27] His efforts to arrange a trial, however, apparently failed. The matter was at least not mentioned in a petition submitted during this period to the town owner by a local priest.[28]

Both Żuchowski and the priest did accuse the Jews of burying in their cemetery a sheep, dressed in a shroud and, according to Żuchowski, a fringed garment as well.[29] Rumor of this deed apparently caused a disturbance, and Żuchowski called for the authorities to disinter the sheep. In his book, the brief notice of this matter was in the section headed, "On Witches." Indeed, this weird accusation smacks of the witchcraft that seems to have obsessed

Polish society of the period.[30] The burying of animals alive for magical purposes is attested among German peasants roughly at this same time,[31] but precisely what was at issue in the Opatów case is difficult to determine on the basis of the two laconic sentences in the sources. Perhaps it was thought that Jews had mistreated the special Easter lamb, symbolizing Christ. Surely, though, if this were the reason, it would have been mentioned. In any event, the very strangeness of the charge reflected the degree to which Jews were seen, at least by these clerics, as alien, mysterious, and capable of incomprehensible and dangerous deeds.

The priest's petition cited above (and undated) was submitted to the town owner by the *poddziekan,* Walenty Kozłowicz, probably between 1708 and 1713.[32] It actually included a long list of complaints: thirteen against the owner's administrator (*gubernator*),[33] six against the Christian burghers,[34] and six against the Jews. Three of the charges against the *gubernator* and three of the six against the burghers also concerned Jews. The priest maintained that the Jews simply manipulated the *gubernator* to do their bidding by bribing him with boots and other gifts. In return, he chose the mayor and city councillors of their preference, let Jews bake and distill on Christian holy days, and prosecuted any burgher the Jews wished. The burghers, for their part, were impious: while devotions were being offered, they filled the taverns. Their courts were corrupted by the Jews, whose excesses and crimes were covered up; the example given in this instance was the case of the drowned child.

The other complaints made directly against the Jews, were as follows:

> —That they erected a second synagogue without the consent of the bishop. By this time, there was a wooden synagogue as well as a brick one, in addition to the *kloiz.*
>
> —That they kept Christian men and women as servants, which practice was forbidden by canon law.
>
> —That they neither left the road nor removed their hats nor even moved out of the way when the priest walked in the street carrying the Host. Indeed, once, when the curate was bringing the Host to a sick person, they actually greeted him with curses, especially Kalman the capmaker, who said (roughly), "you dog, son of a whore, may you swallow a hundred devils."[35]

In light of the substantial clerical presence in Opatów, blood libels and other such scurrilous charges against Jews might be expected. What is striking in the case of Opatów is precisely the failure of these attempts to lead to the dramatic and fatal developments that occurred in more than twenty-five other towns and cities in Poland during this period. Of course, the damage resulting from the extortion of large sums of money should not be minimized, but a comparison with neighboring Sandomierz (where there was a series of

trials for ritual murder in 1675, 1698–1704, and 1710–13, at least two of which ended in deaths by torture and execution), does suggest that the Opatów community was relatively secure.[36]

Whether or not a certain Kalman actually greeted a priest with the words attributed to him, the complaints about Jews point to their relative self-assurance and confidence, despite an atmosphere of clerical hostility. While in the midseventeenth century the churches had indeed been able to extort substantial sums from the community—it is even possible that this was their goal—after the second decade of the eighteenth century, there were no more attempts in Opatów to arrange trials based on the libels of ritual murder or Host desecration. Jews, it seems, were too numerous, too important to the economy of the town, and too adept at defending their interests for such plots to succeed.

GENERAL VIOLENCE AND EVERYDAY THREATS

This is not to say that there were no physical attacks on Jews in Opatów or that Jews there were immune to the violence of the age. Sometimes, though, it is difficult to evaluate whether Jews suffered attacks because they were Jews or because they were there. During the Northern War, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, for example, the town of Opatów suffered the presence of units of more than one army. The minute book of the community recorded that, in 1703, the Saxon army had extorted a certain large sum from the Jews, "and they also imprisoned in their camp the elders of the kahal and one who was not an officer of the kahal." They were kept in harsh conditions for several days and forced to pay a large ransom. Large sums were expended on bribes in an attempt to gain their release.[37]

Two years later, in May 1705, several Opatów residents, among them Jews, were kidnapped by Śmigielski, *starosta* of Gniezno, and presumably also held for ransom.[38] If army units were in the vicinity, there were sometimes attempts to persuade them "not to come through our community."[39] A contemporary described conditions in the first decade of the eighteenth century as follows: "Powerful incursion parties from that side and the other constantly roamed Poland. Nobody, no matter to what estate he belonged, whether he be a priest, a member of the gentry, a town dweller, a poor peasant, or a Jew, could in any manner escape their attacks. Whoever they met on the road was deprived of his horse, clothes, footwear, and cap."[40]

At times, the expenditures for sums demanded by army units were shared between the Christian municipality and the kahal.[41] On the other hand, it should be stressed that, while Christian residents of the town were obliged to quarter soldiers in their homes, Jews were not. They were required only to share the costs involved.[42] By the late sixties and seventies, lists of goods

seized by passing soldiers were submitted exclusively by Jewish merchants—mainly, it would seem, because by that time Jews were such a predominant element in the commerce of the town.[43]

The meetings of the *sejmiki* in Opatów,[44] the market days and fairs,[45] and Easter and other important church holy days[46] all led at times to attacks on Jewish persons and property. In response to these dangers, Jews used bribes and gifts, posted special guards during fairs and market days in collaboration with the municipality and the *gubernator,*[47] and, after the fact, resorted to the courts to seek redress.[48] In 1760, in his instructions to the *gubernator,* the town owner ordered that each guild have four flails (*cepy kowane*) in readiness. If a tumult arose, a guard was to beat on a drum, and the artisans were to assemble and "smash the rebels."[49] These artisans included both Jews and Christians. Indeed, the municipality demanded that the Jews supply two-thirds of this guard from "their people" and that they be prepared every Sunday (market day) to prevent disorder in the city.[50]

CONTACTS BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

Much as one would like to know about everyday contacts between Jews and Christians in Opatów, the sources do not provide a basis for a sustained and complete exposition of the subject. They afford only arbitrarily preserved glimpses and occasional anecdotal evidence, which in their very spareness suggest that much has been left unrecorded. These hints can be collected, but they cannot provide the depth, richness, nuance, and variation one would like to have. Leaving aside contacts grounded in economic relations, this section looks at the more affective and less instrumental aspects of their relationship.

In 1758 and in the following year, individual Jews in Opatów converted to Christianity. One was a certain Sender, next to whose name in a 1759 tax roll were the words "now a Catholic." Nothing more is known of him except that his name did appear on a 1758 tax roll of Jews.[51] The other apostate was Jakub Szklarz (= glazier); the note that he "became a Christian" appeared beside his name on tax rolls in 1760.[52] One of these two was almost surely the father of Jasek Czapnik (Yosef Hitlmakher), identified as the son-in-law of Janas. In March 1760, Jasek filed a complaint in the court of the *gubernator* against the hatmakers and "other Jews of Opatów."[53] He contended that he was unable to pursue his trade because he was ostracized and ridiculed by the other Jews because of his father's apostasy. The *gubernator* decreed that anyone wrongfully preventing Jasek from working would be locked in the *kuna* during the prayers on three successive Sabbaths, with his head uncovered (*bez jarmułki i bez czapki*). The *kuna* was a sort of stocks in the vestibule of the synagogue. It consisted of an iron collar for the neck and chains for the legs.

There is no hint in the sources as to what might have motivated these two

men to convert to Christianity. There is only the indication, based on the son-in-law's complaint, that one of them, at least, disgraced his family, which, remaining in the Jewish community, paid a social and economic price for what must have been regarded as a desecration of God's name. Although these conversions coincided in time, more or less, with the mass conversion of the followers of Jacob Frank, and although the kahal of Opatów was sufficiently interested in the debate between the Frankists and the Talmudists in Lwów in the summer of 1759 to send an observer, there is not sufficient warrant to connect the Opatów apostates with the Frankist movement.[54]

Aside from Jewish apostasy, there are other indications in the sources of a certain familiarity with the culture of Polish Christians. Throughout the eighteenth century, Jews could be found in Opatów who were able to translate various kahal documents and other records into respectable Polish. The names of these translators were recorded only occasionally.[55] In 1710, a certain Zelik, who may or may not have had more than the ability to speak Polish, had apparently been influenced by at least superficial aspects of the Sarmatism of certain members of the gentry. He was the son of the previous *arrendator* of the townlet of Ćmielów. According to a complaint from the townlet, Zelik paraded about wearing pistols and sabers. He oppressed the poor townspeople, being "an enemy of the Christian faith." According to the petition, a youth was whipped "almost to death" in the marketplace by Zelik himself.[56] Even if the particular complaint was entirely the product of the villagers' imaginations, the fact that they could imagine such behavior is itself telling.

In the autumn of 1714, a rather complex court case was heard in the presence of the *gubernator.* It involved the substantial legacy of an Opatów Jewish merchant and elder called Icek Abrahamowicz Ashkenazi. The widow, referred to only as Ickowa (Mrs. Itsik), had married a certain Wolff, who she claimed had systematically looted her first husband's estate. The first witness was Józef Zarzycki, municipal magistrate (*wójt*) of Opatów. He testified in detail about Icik's inventory; he had heard from Józef Szmuklerz, a Jew, that the latter had been sold silver "on the sly" by Wolff; and he knew that Mrs. Itsik "certainly wanted a divorce."[57]

During the 1720s, the Christian municipality complained that Jewish collectors of the sales tax on the marketplace (*miernicy*) "beat people," particularly "the Jew Manas, who bruised and bloodied a Christian woman."[58] In 1758, a case came before the *gubernator* in which it was alleged that the (Christian) cooper Orłowski had struck the wife of the (Jewish) butcher David, and that David had assaulted Orłowski. Both the cooper and the butcher were fined.[59]

These images and fragments of images allow for only very tentative suggestions. It is apparent that a degree of social relations existed between Jews and Christians in eighteenth-century Opatów. The town was small enough that, at least in the higher socioeconomic strata (and likely on the bottom,

too), Jews and Christians were sometimes aware of each other's intimate concerns. Some Jews could read and write Polish, and no doubt many more, like the servant woman described later, in chapter 5, could speak it. There were Jews sufficiently unhappy with their lot or sufficiently opportunistic—and sufficiently familiar with Christianity—to change their faith. Others were, like some of their Christian neighbors, prone to imitate the ways of the *szlachta*.[60]

However, for most Jews, the Christian side of town was largely undifferentiated, and vice versa. Thus, a judgment of the rabbinical court of Opatów in the summer of 1741 regarding a lot belonging to the kahal next to the bathhouse described one corner of a neighboring building as leading to *rehov ha-ʿarelim* or the Gentiles' street.[61] Here, the term *street* was a general one, meaning district or area, in the same way that the term *Jews' street* (*ulica żydowska*) was used. Even though great precision was required in a deed of this kind, there was no need, or perhaps no knowledge, of the actual name of the street, since it was inhabited by Gentiles. The gap separating Jews and Christians was larger than the physical distance between the two neighborhoods. Indeed, no official of the Christian municipality was permitted to appear in the Jewish district (except, of course, for the night guards) without the knowledge of both the Christian mayor and the Jewish elders.[62]

Perhaps one final illustration of this separateness would be useful. The Jewish preacher in Opatów once gave a sermon, fairly conventional in its message, stressing that proper observance of the Sabbath could bring redemption to the Jewish people. In the course of his remarks, he noted that to fulfill one of the requirements for such observance—namely, marking off the Jewish neighborhood with a wire or a fence (*eruv*)—Jews had to have permission from the town owner.[63] "And if they—the other peoples—knew the significance of this, they would never grant such permission to the Jews."[64] The assumption was that "other peoples" were antipathetic to Jews and would never aid Jews in bringing redemption nearer. There is, however, another conviction encoded in this passage, namely the sense of Jewish superiority. They, and only they, possessed the secret of redemption.

4

Jews in the Economy

During the eighteenth century, Jews came to dominate most sectors of the economy of the town of Opatów. Even at the beginning of the century, commerce in textiles, tobacco, spices, and the production of hats and caps were Jewish monopolies. By the second half of the century, there were very few Christian butchers, bakers, tailors, furriers, or goldsmiths.[1] With minor exceptions, the wood and construction trades and leatherwork were dominated by Christians.

The manufacture of shoes and boots, in particular, was a Christian preserve; this sector accounted for between 18 and 25 percent of Christians listed in various inventories in the eighteenth century. In six such lists for years between 1721 and 1788, not one Jewish shoemaker was listed. In fact, there must have been at least a few Jewish cobblers, since that trade was one of those for which a rate of taxation was provided in the kahal's commercial tax *(korobka)* regulations of 1758.[2] Moreover, in 1775, Lubomirski issued a special privilege in favor of Jankel Izraelowicz, "master leatherworker and shoemaker of excellence," permitting him to carry on his trade in Opatów. He was to pay no taxes, nor was he required to make any payment to the shoemakers' guild.[3]

The occupational designations in the sources must be examined critically and accepted only as approximations of the actual situation. The notion of having one fixed and specialized occupation to the exclusion of all others was foreign to a significant proportion of the Jewish population. Moreover, the sources that provide lists of occupations are frequently incomplete. Most dramatically, while the 1764–65 "census" notes only three Jewish merchants in Opatów, other sources indicate that more than fifty Jews were involved in interurban, and even international, commerce in precisely those years. In the 1730s, to cite another example, a certain Borukh the tailor supplied the *gub-*

ernator with 430 geese.[4] Now, this does not necessarily mean that Borukh was not a tailor, it merely serves to illustrate the fluidity of the occupational situation in which one pursued whatever fell to hand in order to make a living. The lists of barkeepers, also, probably includes only a fraction of those who, from time to time, or even regularly, sold beer or vodka from their homes.

Despite the fluidity of vocations, a picture of the occupational distribution does emerge from a careful examination of the sources. It seems safe to conclude that, despite the increase in Jewish numbers, the proportions of artisans and those involved in commerce in the Jewish population remained relatively steady, with a slight decrease in the latter category at the end of the century. Between one-third and two-fifths of the Jewish population was involved in commerce. However, it should be stressed that the largest groups in this category were pedlars and agents, or factors. The sources consistently indicate that just slightly more than one-third of the Jews was involved in artisanry.

Competition between Jews and Christians was most intensely felt among Christian artisans, particularly shoemakers. Their main concern was not competition from Jews who pursued the same trade, of whom there were but few, but Jewish merchants. The Christian artisans' complaints, reiterated throughout the century, were characteristic of those in many towns in Poland. The Jews, they maintained, controlled the trade in hides, the raw material the shoemakers needed; moreover, the Jews imported finished goods from elsewhere, against the interests of the local artisans. Although it was most frequently asserted by shoemakers, the objection that Jews consistently "bought up first" *(wykupować)* was brought up again and again by Christian artisan guilds and by others, from the seventeenth century onward.[5] The privileges of the shoemakers' and furriers' guilds in Opatów in 1678 forbade Jews to "buy up first."[6] The cobblers complained in 1721 that, despite the prohibition of Jewish purchase of hides without the permission of the guild, they were buying up not only finished hides but skins still on the animal and exporting them to Wrocław, "causing harm to the guild." More, "they bring in finished goods from Wrocław and Cracow, filling their shops and harming the artisans further."[7]

Jews who wished to trade in hides legally could seek a special license from the town owner, or they could join the guild of shoemakers.[8] A Jewish merchant who, without a license and without joining the guild, brought in boots purchased at the Luków fair had his shop broken into by the guild shoemakers and his goods stolen.[9] In 1760, the shoemakers' guild brought at least two complaints before the *gubernator's* court against Jews trading illegally in hides.[10] And, indeed, in a 1755 inventory, six Jews were listed as hide traders, but how many of them made regular payments to the guild cannot be determined.[11] As late as 1769, the Christian guild masters demanded that,

> he who trades in hides, shoes, or boots, which are the domain of the shoemakers' guild, must be inscribed in the guild books. Jews who sell beer must belong to the brewers' guild, Jewish tailors belong to the tailors' guild. Jews who deal in furs and sheepskins belong to the furriers' guild; Jewish goldsmiths belong to the guild of smiths. Further, storekeepers, dealers in wool, glass, combs, and . . . other commercial products belong to the merchants' guild. All of these must give wax and oil for the church lamps. Without this [being enforced], each guild will decline and fall.[12]

The guilds, then, aspired to the right to control not only production but also the supply of raw materials for their crafts. Nevertheless, the periodic repetition of this demand suggests that Jews sought, when possible, to avoid affiliation with the guilds or, at the least, to reduce their contributions. Certainly, there was no sign of collective class consciousness transcending religious differences. According to a Yiddish translation of Christian complaints recorded in the communal minute book, Jews were accused by Christian hosiers and shopkeepers of not contributing enough for the guild's maintenance. More, Jews had allied themselves with the nonguild artisans *(partaczy)* and sought to free themselves entirely from their obligations to the guild. They insulted the guildsmen. They announced in their synagogues that no one was to buy from or sell to the Christian hosiers.[13] At other times, the question of Jewish contributions to the church, which would have discomfited Jews, was circumvented by the demand that they contribute "not to the church but to the guild."[14]

JEWISH ARTISANS

By the second half of the eighteenth century, there were, at the very least, three Jewish artisan guilds: butchers, furriers, and hatmakers.[15] There may also have been a guild of haberdashers, since there was a reference to a Jewish journeyman haberdasher in 1755. Unfortunately, the surviving evidence of the activities of Jewish guilds in Opatów is very scanty. Two passages from the minute book of the Jewish hatmakers' guild have been preserved, one in Hebrew and one in a Polish translation from a (now lost) original. The Hebrew passage, dated 1768, indicates that a certain Moshe ben Ya^{c}aqov had taken up hatmaking during the previous summer without joining the guild. He claimed to have a license from the town owner but could not produce it. The guild gave him two weeks to find the document or be prohibited from following the trade of hatmaking. The Polish passage, dated 1775, was a translation of a characteristic ban of excommunication against anyone who revealed what transpired at meetings of the guild.

The Jewish guilds probably had a system of apprenticeship like that of the

TABLE 4.1 JEWISH ARTISANS, BY SECTOR, 1721–1788

Sector	1721	1755	1764–1765	1788
%				
Foods	39	11	14	17
Hides, furs	18	36	30	40
Textiles	17	31	29	30
Number of artisans	71	168	141	149

Source: Data based on ADO, I/14, I/66, I/69, I/102.

Christian guilds. In 1760, Dawid the butcher filed a complaint of breach of contract against his apprentice, Szlama, who had gone to work for another butcher before the expiration of his agreement to work for one year for Dawid. However, as testimony before the *gubernator* later revealed, Dawid had been beating the boy, and that was why he left. Szlama, according to the judgment, had to pay the contractual fine for leaving before the end of the term, but Dawid was sentenced to one hour in the *kuna*.[16]

Jewish butchers outnumbered their gentile competitors at the beginning of the eighteenth century; indeed, there was even a complaint that Jews were selling pork "which they do not eat."[17] By midcentury, Jewish butchers completely dominated the meat trade. This can be seen in the way the town owner set the meat prices beginning in the 1750s. Amounts were listed for kosher and nonkosher *(trefne)* meat.[18] It seems unlikely that a Christian butcher would have referred to his meat as *trefa*. At the beginning of the century, seven Christian butchers and eleven Jewish butchers were noted; at its end, one Christian butcher and fifteen Jewish butchers were listed. By that time, the artisan trades in general had come to be dominated by Jews.

In 1721, 36 percent of the artisans in Opatów were Jews; in 1788, 63 percent were Jews. In 1721, there were 125 Christian artisans; in 1788, only 87 were noted. Thus, in addition to the fact that the Jewish majority in the town had increased during the century, it seems likely that Christians were abandoning artisanry for agriculture. Of the 73 Christians for whom no occupation was noted in 1788, half lived in the suburb *(przedmieście)*, where they may have had fields or gardens.

The largest group of the Jewish artisans worked with furs and hides, particularly hatmakers and furriers (table 4.1). This preponderance emerged at midcentury, when the proportion of Jewish textile workers, especially tailors, also increased dramatically. This can be explained both by the increase in Jewish numbers and by the expansion of Jewish involvement in the production and finishing of textiles and furs.

TABLE 4.2 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF OPATÓW JEWS AND NON-JEWS, 1721–1788

	1721		1727					1788	
Occupation	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	1755, Jews	1764–1765, Jews	c1766, Jews	Non-Jews	Jews
Artisanry									
Number	125	71	62	36	168	141	104	87	149
%	71	37	70	39	37	32	25	50	34
Commerce									
Number	3	57	3	46	171	30	35	13	54
%	2	30	3	50	37	7	8	8	12
Other									
Number	3	24	6	1	33	46	38	1	24
%	2	12	7	1	7	11	9	1	5
None listed									
Number	44	41	18	9	86	220	246	73	214
%	25	21	20	10	19	50	58	42	49
Total number	175	193	89	92	458	437	423	174	441

Source: Data based on ADO, I/14, I/66, I/69, I/102, I/110; Mahler, *Yidn.*

COMMERCE

Jews pursued certain other occupations, but they are not indicated in the various inventories that serve as the basis for tables 4.2 and 4.3. The detailed instructions connected with the tax on commerce *(korobka),* enacted by the kahal in 1758, mentions dealers in fish, cowherds and sellers of dairy products, dealers in poultry and eggs, wax sellers, and iron dealers.[19] Presumably, many of those who carried on these occupations were involved in other trades as well, or were listed as shopkeepers, or were among those for whom no occupation was listed. Of all the sectors in which Jews participated, the one that was most clearly dominated by Jews was commerce.

It has long been accepted that, in the towns of Poland-Lithuania, Jewish commerce developed virtually without impediment in the eighteenth century (see map 1). In fact, Jews became the only commercial element in many urban centers,[20] and Opatów was not an exception.

Opatów was the central place of a relatively small area and was linked most closely to the larger economic region dominated by the city of Cracow. The town's fairs appeared in only some of the Polish and Hebrew merchants' calendars published in the eighteenth century.[21] This may be taken as an indication that Opatów's significance as a center for the exchange of goods was

TABLE 4.3 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF OPATÓW JEWS AND NON-JEWS, BY SECTOR, 1721–1788

	1721		1727		1755	1764	c1766	1788	
Sector	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews
Textiles									
Artisanry									
Embroiderers	0	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Haberdashers	0	5	0	2	10	8	8	0	7
Hosiers	4	2	1	0	3	3	2	—	—
Tailors	6	4	5	1	38	30	20	2	37
Weavers	6	0	3	0	—	—	—	2	0
Commerce									
Clothiers	0	4	0	6	2	—	—	—	—
Lineners	0	1	—	—	7	—	1	0	3
Ribbon and thread sellers	0	3	0	1	2	2	2	—	—
%									
Artisanry	57	43	75	25				8	92
Commerce	0	100	0	100				0	100
Overall	44	56	47	53				8	92
Hides and Furs									
Artisanry									
Furriers (*kuśnierzy*)	9	3	4	2	22	6	4	1	18
Hatmakers	0	10	0	5	39	36	24	0	42
Saddlers	1	0	1	0	—	—	—	4	0
Shoemakers	32	0	22	0	—	—	—	31	0
Commerce									
Furriers (*futernicy*)	0	1	—	—	3	3	1	0	2
Hide dealers	—	—	0	1	6	—	4	0	2
Wool dealers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	5
%									
Artisanry	76	24	79	21				38	62
Commerce	0	100	0	100				0	100
Overall	75	25	77	23				34	66
Metals									
Comb makers	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	3	0
Coppersmiths	0	1	—	—	1	1	2	0	1
Goldsmiths	1	4	1	3	7	7	6	0	8
Locksmiths	3	0	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
Seal engravers	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	0	1

TABLE 4.3 *Continued*

Sector	1721		1727		1755	1764	c1766	1788	
	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews
Smiths	7	0	3	0	—	—	—	11	0
Sword makers	1	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Watchmakers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
%	71	29	57	43				62	38
Foods									
Artisanry									
Bakers	17	12	5	5	14	8	7	0	10
Brewers/ distillers	7	3	3	0	—	—	—	—	—
Butchers	7	11	4	5	5	12	6	1	15
Confectioners	0	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fishermen	0	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
Millers	4	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Commerce									
Bar/innkeepers	0	8	0	4	18	3	5	11	11
Flour/grain	—	—	—	—	10	—	1	—	—
Spice dealers	0	4	0	2	4	—	2	0	1
Tobacconists	0	2	0	2	2	—	3	—	—
Wine dealers	—	—	2	0	—	—	—	—	—
%									
Artisanry	56	44	55	45				7	93
Commerce	0	100	20	80				48	52
Overall	45	55	44	56				26	74
Wood									
Carpenters	4	0	1	0	1	—	—	1	0
Cartwrights	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0
Coopers	2	0	2	0	—	—	—	6	0
Joiners	1	0	1	0	—	—	—	3	0
Sawyers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
Turners	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
Wheelwrights	1	0	—	—	—	—	—	4	0
%	80	20	80	20				94	6
Construction									
Glaziers	1	1	0	1	—	—	—	1	0
Masons	1	0	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
Painters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
Ropemakers	1	0	—	—	—	—	—	2	0
%	75	25	0	100				100	0

TABLE 4.3 *Continued*

Sector	1721		1727		1755	1764	c1766	1788	
	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews
Chemicals and paper									
Artisanry									
Bookbinders	0	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
Candlemakers	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Dyers	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—
Papermakers	0	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Soapmakers	0	1	0	2	1	2	3	0	1
Tallowmakers	—	—	1	0	—	—	—	1	0
Commerce									
Salt dealers	0	2	—	—	4	[a]	1	0	1
%	0	100	33	67				33	67
Services									
Barbers	0	3	1	8	3	4	4	2	1
Doctors	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	0
Pharmacists	—	—	—	—	[b]	—	—	1	0
%	0	100	10	90				80	20
Commerce									
Arrendators	0	2	0	2	4	7	5	0	1
Factors	0	13	0	10	36	15	2	0	14
Merchants	3	16	1	15	36	3	—	1	9
Moneylenders	0	1	—	—	8	—	—	0	3
Pedlars	—	—	0	1	18	1	3	—	—
Storekeepers	—	—	0	2	11	2	—	1	2
Teamsters	5	0	2	0	5	3	6	2	0
%	20	80	9	91				12	88
Other									
Beadles	—	4	—	—	6	7	4	—	5
Cantors	—	3	—	—	1	2	—	—	—
Judges	—	1	—	1	2	3	5	—	1
Musicians	0	3	0	1	2	5	5	0	5
Preachers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rabbis	—	3	—	—	1	8	7	—	5
Shohets	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	1
Teachers	—	12	—	—	18	21	19	—	11
%	0	100	0	100				0	100

a. In 1770, twenty Jews were the only salt dealers in Opatów.
b. One Jew was listed as a spice dealer and pharmacist.
—data not available.

somewhat limited. There were seven annual fairs in Opatów at the beginning of the century, and twelve by its end. Of these, the most important was on St. Martin's day (November 11).[22] In addition, Opatów merchants traded at fairs in Hungary, Breslau, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Poland, and Lithuania.[23]

An analysis of sixty-six toll records in cities and towns all over Poland-Lithuania reveals that, during the years 1764–67, at least sixty-one merchants from Opatów, fifty-three of whom were Jews, were involved in commercial travels.[24] In fact, Opatów merchants were noted in the toll records of eighteen of the towns studied. Of these merchants, nineteen were exporters or importers, trading mainly through Międzyrzecz to the west or Brody to the east. Most of the rest appeared within the triangular area bordered by the trade routes from Cracow to Lublin and Warsaw (see map 1).

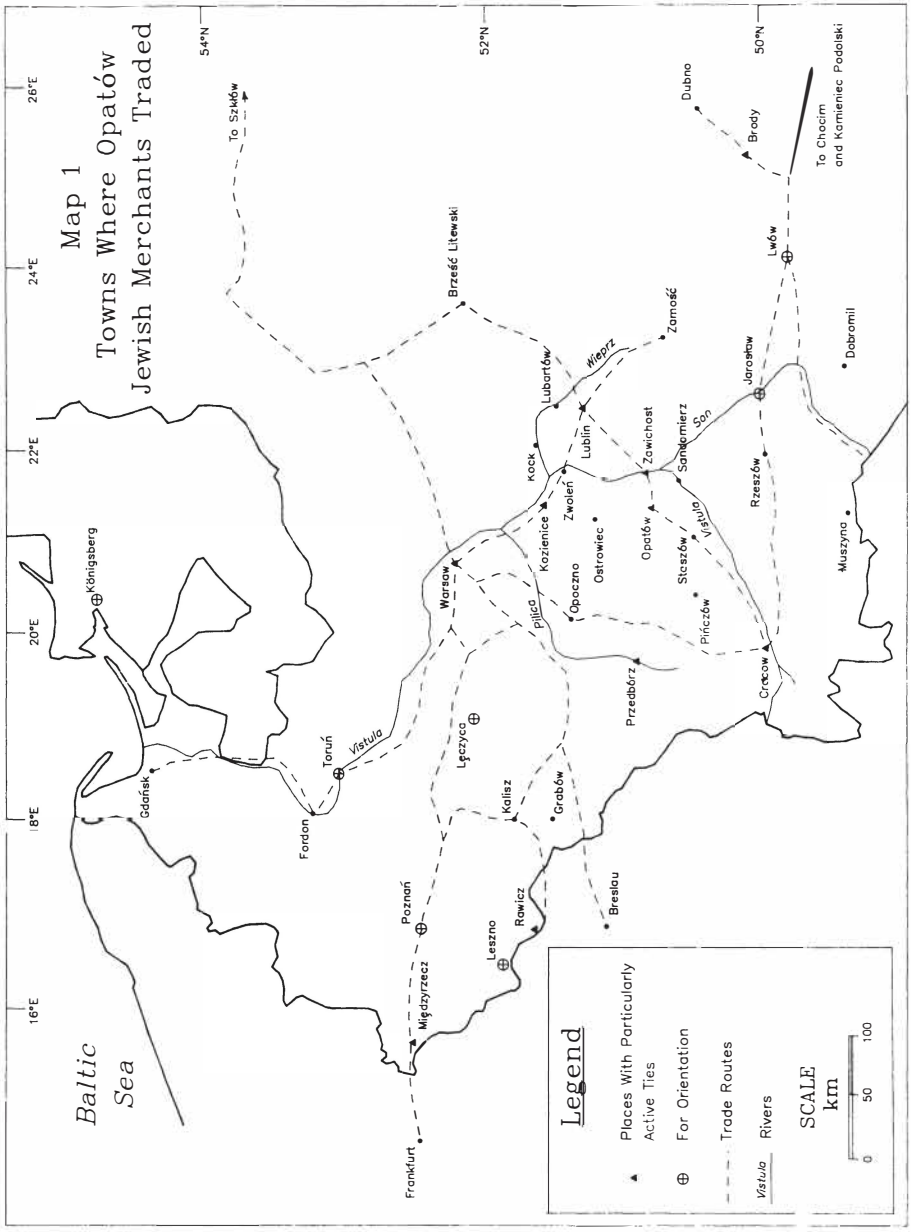
At the eighteen toll stations, the sixty-one merchants from Opatów appeared a total of 113 times. With the exception of Pińczów, which was by far the dominant center of commerce in this part of Poland, no other town in the region had nearly as many merchants active in the domestic and international markets as Opatów. There were 378 entries representing merchants from Pińczów in the same period, and all but three of these concerned Jewish merchants.

Christians and Jews in Commerce

For the most part, the Christians involved in commerce in Opatów were petty stall keepers who sold combs, salt, tallow, or vegetables. These formed a majority in the guild of merchants and shopkeepers, which existed at least into the 1770s.[25] As late as 1769, the merchants' guild participated in the periodic demand that Jews involved in similar trades make payments to the appropriate guilds. Jews who were shopkeepers or dealers in wool, glass, combs, or other goods were to make payments for wax for the church, as the other guild members did.[26] In 1763, at least eight Christians belonged to the merchants' guild, two of them being referred to as masters.[27]

From the beginning of the century until about the mid-1720s, there were complaints addressed to the town owner to the effect that Jews had pushed Christians entirely out of commerce; after that, these complaints appear to have ceased. In 1708, a municipal complaint alleged that Jews controlled all the trade (and the sale of alcoholic beverages) and that, therefore, they should bear not one-third, but two-thirds, of municipal expenses.[28] In 1721, another municipal petition demanded that, since Jews were a majority of the town's population and controlled its trade, they should be responsible for four-fifths of municipal expenses. Already, they added, in a not-too-veiled threat, that several town residents—not being able to earn a living—had left for other towns.[29] There were similar complaints in the ensuing years.[30]

In all of these petitions, however, the emphasis was less on the difficulties



Map 1. Towns Where Opatów Jewish Merchants Traded

of Christian merchants and more on the difficulties of Christian artisans. Moreover, when Christians protested the Jews' control over commodities, these tended to be petty comestibles like vegetables, cheese, groats, and salt. In a petition of 1722, in which a reduction in the Christian town's tax burden was requested, it was claimed that there was not a single textile merchant in the Christian town, because Jews controlled that trade.[31] If a Christian did try to do business in textiles, he had no chance. "The Jews have [dozens] of factors who steer noblemen, priests, or other visitors away from the Christian town to the Jewish street to buy. We cannot live. They have taken control not only of artisanry, beer, and bread, but even of poor commodities like groats, cheese, butter, parsley, onions, spoons. . . . There is no alternative but to fall into poverty and, being unable to live, to go in the end to the poorhouse."[32]

In the course of another complaint from this period, directed against the residents of the clerical *jurydyki,* who paid no taxes even though they carried on trade in the town, the municipality concluded, "This weighs heavily on us who do not trade or sell beverages, because there are Jews here."[33] Thus Jewish dominance of major sectors such as textiles and the production and sale of alcoholic beverages seems to have been taken for granted. An analysis of Cracow toll records shows that, between 1704 and 1750, the only merchants from Opatów whose names were recorded were Jews.[34]

At some point in the 1720s, the Jews' share of municipal expenses was indeed raised to two-thirds, and the elders of the kahal submitted their own petition in response. "Be compassionate with us, dear lord. In past times . . . when there were merchants here who traded in Gdańsk, Breslau, and Amsterdam . . . we paid only one-third. Now, when several of the greatest merchants have declared themselves to be bankrupt, and the rest, who formerly went to Breslau, carry on a small, miserable trade . . . we are asked by the burghers to pay two-thirds."[35] There was, in the fashion of contemporary rhetorical styles, more than a little hyperbole in the petitions of both Christians and Jews.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, only a very few non-Jews were merchants *(kupcy),* and these were nearly all Scots: Andrzej (Andrew) Thomson, Gordon, Szteyfan (Stevens?), Walter, Kondrat, and Pani Gonsonowa.[36] It is likely that most of them dealt mainly in wine. Indeed, Thomson, Gonsonowa, and Kondrat were referred to explicitly as wine dealers. As will be seen below, the one branch of commerce in which Jews hardly participated was the wine trade.

Complaints about the inability of non-Jews to engage in commercial activities did not reappear after 1730, suggesting that by this time Jews had prevailed. In the course of the eighteenth century, there were no further references to merchants from Opatów who were not Jews, except for wine trad-

ers. One of these was exceptional. He was a "Greek" named Irsz Saul, and in addition to wine, he also traded in textiles. Moreover, like his Jewish competitors, he employed a Jewish factor to seek custom, much to the Jews' discomfiture. One of them complained, and the town owner decreed that Saul was to dismiss the Jew immediately and to hire a factor *(kupczyk)* "of his own religion."[37] Jewish domination of the town's commerce, then, was almost total.

The extent of this domination was reflected in an order issued in 1760 by the managers of Lubomirski's estates. They wanted to strengthen the fairs in Dobromil, another of their patron's holdings, by "encouraging" Opatów merchants to bring their goods there. The directive was addressed to "the Jewish merchants and citizens of Opatów," who were to appear at the next fair in Dobromil on pain of a huge fine (800 zloties).[38] In the same year, the merchants and textile dealers with the most expensive goods were ordered by Lubomirski to appear before him with their best goods, on pain of a fine. All seven of the merchants mentioned were Jews.[39]

Jews in Commerce

The number of Jewish merchants, that is, those who were engaged in commerce on a relatively large scale, was significantly greater than the figures provided in most of the inventories and other lists of the second half of the eighteenth century. While the "census" of 1764–65 lists only three Jewish merchants in Opatów, a locally prepared "description" *(opisanie)* of the Jewish population in 1755 refers to no less than thirty-five Jewish merchants *(kupcy)*. Six were merchants of Frankfurt (two), Ukraine (two), and Szkłów (two), and six more were designated as Breslau merchants.[40] Other Jewish merchants are known to have traded in Gdańsk and Warsaw in this period.[41] The *korobka,* or commercial tax regulations, of 1758 mention merchants who traveled to Breslau, Szkłów, Ukraine, and Gdańsk.[42]

The toll records, mentioned earlier, covering the years 1763–67, include references to fifty-three Jewish merchants from Opatów. These were engaged primarily in the export of hides, wax, and furs and in the import of hardware (Nuremberg goods) and, particularly, textiles. Generally, their trading activities were characterized by small quantities and rapid turnover. Indeed, only six of these merchants had large shipments during this period; these were evaluated at over 1,500 zloties; none exceeded 3,000 zloties. The exceptions were a consortium of three Opatów Jews who had brought more than 3,000-zloties worth of furs from Brześć Litewski to Lublin and one textile merchant (Szaja Lejzorowicz), who had five shipments with a total value of over 6,000 zloties. In the toll records, the total value of the goods is noted in the case of eighty-three of the one-hundred appearances by Opatów Jewish merchants in

those years. These records show that the average shipment was valued at about 500 zloties. The average for those explicitly designated as engaged in international trade was 590 zloties. By contrast, a list of fifteen merchants from Little Poland who were returning from the Frankfurt fair in January 1765—all of them Jews, but none from Opatów—recorded shipments with an average value of over 9,000 zloties.[43]

A contemporary rabbinic *responsum,* dating from the third quarter of the eighteenth century, supports the reliability of these toll records. *R* was going to Breslau and was hired by *S* to transport the latter's goods. They agreed that *R* would pay the excise tax and that *S* would pay transport costs of 10 percent of the value of the goods. It turned out, however, that the excise tax, formerly based on the oral declarations of the merchants, was now being assessed on the basis of visual inspection of the goods by the officials in charge. "And as a result, the excise payments have increased substantially." *R* asked that the original contract be invalidated and that he be paid more than 10 percent of the value of the goods. The rabbi responded that it was uncommon for merchants to have to pay the full tariff at the official rates; there were devices, or tricks *(taḥbulot)* to satisfy the officials with gifts. The officials had carried out their searches, the rabbi added, only to increase the size of their gift. Whenever a new tariff was enacted, the rabbi pointed out, officials were more diligent in carrying out their tasks.[44] And indeed, as part of a partial fiscal reform in Poland, the convocation Sejm of 1764 had introduced a general tariff.[45] Thus it is likely that Jewish merchants met tariff officials who were careful and more punctilious in their searches and their assessments.

The fifty-three Jewish merchants of Opatów who appear in those toll records traded mainly on a small scale. Nineteen were involved in international trade, mainly with the west, through Breslau and Frankfurt. Only one was traveling through Kamieniec Podolski. His goods included raisins, walnuts, tobacco, rice, figs, spices, lemon juice, and thirty-five sheepskins.[46] A number of Opatów merchants had commercial and other links to Brody, and one had a partner in Zamość.[47] Four merchants brought "Lithuanian" furs to Poland, and at least one exported them to the west. All the rest exported hides and wax, almost exclusively, and imported mainly textiles and Nuremberg goods. Other exports included relatively small quantities of saltpeter, potash, anise, and horses.

Exports by Opatów Jewish merchants exceeded imports by a ratio of about six to four.[48] It is possible, if this ratio is representative, that the imbalance can be accounted for by loan repayments to central European merchant-bankers—perhaps affiliated with German Jewish firms—but this is merely a speculation.[49] The international traders of Opatów operated on a relatively large scale.

Leading Merchants

At the turn of the eighteenth century, one of the most prominent merchants in Opatów was Icek Abrahamowicz Ashkenazi. He had the title *moreinu* (our teacher) and was a sometime elder of the kahal.[50] A dealer in textiles, his commercial operations extended to Breslau and Leipzig, as well as to Gdańsk and Volhynia. He owned two shops in Opatów, one for expensive silk fabrics and the other for cheaper woolen cloths.[51] In testimony some years after his death, an associate put the value of the goods in his shops at 90,000 zloties.[52] Based on contemporary prices, however, the total value of all the goods left in his inventory at his death, as preserved in the sources, was between 12,000 and 18,000 zloties. More expensive fabrics comprised about 12 percent of the quantity and more than 35 percent of the value. This assortment of goods suggests that Icek had a diverse clientele and could meet the different needs of gentry, burghers, and peasants.

Throughout the first three-quarters of the century, there were merchants more or less analogous to Icek whose dealings were international in scope and who supplied mainly textiles and, sometimes, furs to a diverse market.[53] In the 1720s and 1730s, Jewish merchants supplied Sanguszko's court with expensive silk, gold and silver galloon, and other fabrics.[54] The most prominent dealer in furs in the subsequent decades was Lewek Futernik. When, at his death in 1759, a dispute arose over his estate among his widow and his two sons, the kahal court prepared an inventory of his debts and assets. The assets included furs valued at roughly 24,000 zloties, 11,576 zloties in cash, and 9,574 zloties in uncollected notes, mainly from non-Jewish merchants in Warsaw. His house, shop, and synagogue pew, together with silver and jewelry, were evaluated at just over 9,000 zloties. His debts, mainly to Volhynian Jewish merchants, amounted to over 41,000 zloties. This scale of wealth would have ranked him among the great merchants even in a major commercial city like Poznań.[55] The details in the inventory show that Futernik had commercial links to Dubno, Turczyn, Rzeszów, Tyśmienice, Dobromil, Kock, Lewartów (Lubartów), Staszów, Ostrowiec, Szkłów, and Warsaw.[56]

Luxury Goods

Other Opatów merchants occasionally sold goods to Lubomirski and his officials, sometimes having been ordered to do so.[57] When the Russian army passed through Opatów, local merchant Wolf Golda or Gauda (Ze'ev Wolf ben Eli'ezer Zelig) claimed losses of 3,611 zloties, listing mainly expensive silk fabrics.[58] In 1762, the same Wolf Golda was accused of giving two gentrymen a better price on some black cloth than the price he gave to a local burgher. It was alleged that he charged Pan Grodecki, *skarbnik* of Wielun,

and his companion eighteen zloties per length and then charged a Mr. Pilecki twenty zloties per length. Wolf Golda explained that the first sale was made by a new employee *(kupczyk),* who was unfamiliar with the merchandise.[59] In 1774, the town owner forbade factors taking fabrics from merchants and going to gentrymen to sell them.[60] Thus it appears that at least some Opatów merchants dealt in expensive fabrics and had gentry and clergy among their clientele. Indeed, one document referred to separate shops for silks, woolens, and furs.[61] Nevertheless, by far the largest quantities of fabrics traded by Jewish merchants in 1764–67 were the less expensive varieties.[62]

Domestic Commerce

Many more Opatów Jewish merchants were listed in the toll records of 1764–67 as traveling *intra regno* than leaving or entering the country. The vast majority of these merchants traveled within a triangular area defined by Warsaw, Cracow, and Lublin (see map 1).[63] With a few exceptions, most of the domestic traders carried small quantities of goods—most often, in descending order of frequency; textiles, hides, iron, tobacco, furs, hardware, boots, paper, and wax. There were only three large shipments listed as *intra regno.* Szaja Leyzerowicz made five trips through Rawicz with textiles in 1765 and 1766.[64] Józef Lewkowicz made seven trips through Cracow with hardware and imported iron. And, as mentioned, a consortium of three Opatów merchants appeared in Lublin with more than 3,000-zloties worth of furs purchased at Brześć Litewski.

In 1762, Lewek Herszkowicz agreed to supply the local Franciscans with 100 *kamień* of wool.[65] The marketing of wool seems to have been Lewek's occupation and one that involved much effort.[66] A contemporary *responsum* described one such operation in which two partners toured the villages and townlets, purchasing small quantities of wool from individual producers, while the third partner gathered it all and sold it to the "prince" *(sar).*[67] The profit margin must have been relatively good, since those who sold wool "purchased in the villages" were taxed by the kahal at a rate substantially higher than other merchants.[68] To be sure, this last also could have reflected an unfair system benefiting other merchants. Very often, artisans also sold goods at retail. The revised commercial tax regulations, formulated by a special commission of the kahal in 1757 and approved by Lubomirski in 1758, referred to sellers of goods among hatmakers, haberdashers, mead makers, brewers, soap makers, goldsmiths, and cowherds who sold dairy products.[69]

Merchants' Employees

Merchants employed apprentices and others who assisted in their shops; they paid commissions to factors, who steered customers their way. As for the

apprentices and employees, these were engaged on the basis of annual contracts. A kahal regulation of 1747 treated this subject:

> There was agreement regarding those employed in the walled shops of merchants who, reaching the end of the term of their contracts, wish to seek employment with other merchants. No merchant whose goods are similar to the merchant who previously employed that person may engage him, so as not to be guilty of unfair competition in matters of trade. The fine will be 180 zloties to the [town owner's] treasury. The employee, if he wishes to be employed immediately, must seek out merchants who trade in different goods, at least for one year.[70]

The regulations, as usual, served the interests of the established merchants, who were well represented in the kahal.

There were also factors who were attached to particular shops or who operated independently. They were, in fact, agents, shills, or steerers who sought customers for the merchants. They would gather in the marketplace and at the entrances to the town. These factors were a constant source of trouble for the merchants and for the Jewish and non-Jewish authorities. According to the complaints, they quarreled constantly among themselves, engaged in swindles, slandered merchants, and used foul language. As a result, there were various attempts to regulate their commissions, the places they were allowed to station themselves, and even their numbers.[71] In 1756, ten factors were allowed (the 1755 inventory lists thirty-six!); in 1759, this was raised to twelve; by 1783, the limit was eighteen.[72] By that time, factors were organized with a certain Hendel Zusmanowicz, listed as "elder among the factors."[73] These were the Jews who virtually attacked visitors to the town, demanding their custom.[74]

Sources of Capital

At Breslau in 1707, Józef Jakubowicz of Opatów lent 30,000 zloties to Teofila Ostrogska Lubomirska (died 1709), which the latter promised to repay "in toto after my return to Poland."[75] Jakubowicz was a merchant and long-time elder of the Jewish community.[76] Lubomirska was the owner of the town; her husband, Józef Karol Lubomirski, had died in 1702. As far as is known, this was the only credit or loan extended by a Jew from Opatów to a magnate *(szlachcić)* in the eighteenth century. Such transactions generally were the reverse—Jews seeking capital or credits from noblemen, Christian merchants, or other Jews. The existing sources on this subject concern mainly the second half of the eighteenth century.

Between 1758 and 1768, ninety-seven Opatów Jews borrowed a total of

130,393 zloties. The creditors included seven gentrymen, one Jew, and one Berlin commercial house.[77] The records on which this total is based are undoubtedly incomplete, particularly regarding debts contracted with merchants in other towns and abroad and loans or credits obtained from other Jews. The town owner required that *szlachta* extending loans to Jews obtain his permission in advance. Since this provided a measure of protection to the creditor, it seems that they observed it.[78] The annual rate of interest was generally 10–12 percent, and the loans were for terms ranging between one and fifteen years. The real property of the Jews was the usual security for the loans. Almost three-quarters (73 percent) of the Jews involved in these transactions had relatively small debts, under 1,000 zloties, while five individuals accounted for 42 percent of the total. These were among the most active and prominent merchants in Opatów.

Alexander Lubelski borrowed 1,000 zloties in 1759 from Walenty Dąbrowski and 3,498 zloties in 1761 from Colonel Malicki.[79] At the same time, Lubelski was also substantially in debt to his father-in-law, Leybus Smulowicz, "citizen and merchant of Kurów."[80] Active in the overland trade with the west, Lubelski was one of the merchants handling luxury goods in Opatów.[81] He died around 1766, leaving a large brick house, his fortune, and a number of debts to his son, Isaac.[82] Jasek Poznański borrowed 1,800 zloties from Lubomirski in 1757 and, during the next five years, obtained credits totaling 2,900 zloties from other gentrymen.[83] A merchant who traded in luxury goods, Poznański was a sometime elder of the community.[84] Martka Krakowski obtained credits totaling 5,498 zloties from Dąbrowski and Malicki.[85] He was referred to as a Frankfurt merchant and was often a communal elder.[86]

Wolf Golda was one of the most active borrowers of this period. During the decade in question, he obtained credits totaling 19,696 zloties.[87] As mentioned earlier, he was a textile merchant and, at least once, an elder of the kahal and of the Burial Society.[88] In June 1770 and again in February 1771, the firm of Jean Platzmann and Lautier of Berlin addressed letters to Lubomirski complaining that two Opatów Jewish merchants had not paid their debts: Wolf Zelig (Golda) owed 5,886 zloties, and Isaac Lubelski owed 6,966 zloties.[89] Lubelski and Golda were leaders of two of the five consortia of Opatów Jews, which taken together obtained loans totaling 61,290 zloties from Jan Leźnicki in 1763 and 1767. The loans were for a fifteen-year period, with an interest rate of 12 percent for the first seven years and 5 percent for the next eight years. A total of seventy-five Jews were involved in these transactions, and because there were difficulties with collection, Leźnicki resorted to the courts in Warsaw.[90] Isaac Lubelski was an international merchant who traveled often to Leipzig and Frankfurt. In the 1770s, he was the highest taxpayer in the Jewish town. Between 1767 and 1775, he obtained credits

totaling over 33,000 zloties. His large brick house was valued at over 10,000 zloties. By the end of the 1770s, however, he had apparently experienced reverses and was unable to meet his obligations.[91]

The foregoing suggests that there were few large reserves of capital in the Jewish community. Indeed, without substantial investment by the *szlachta,* Jewish commercial activity would have ground to a halt. When in 1757 Lubomirski's Jewish supervisor of the kahal noted in his report that there was a problem with frequent bankruptcies, he stressed that, as a result, even the most reliable Jewish merchants were having difficulty obtaining credits from the *szlachta.*[92]

This is not to say that there were no Jews who lent substantial sums at interest. In Opatów itself, however, the only creditor of substance was the communal rabbi Sha'ul ben Simḥa Segal Ḥarif (Szaul Symchowicz). Previously the rabbi of Nowe Miasto, he was *av beit din* of Opatów from 1765 to 1772. A scion of a distinguished family, his approbation appeared in at least two rabbinic works of the period. Also, he was charged with collecting funds from the Jews of Little Poland to cover the expenses of Elyaqim ben Asher Zelig's mission to Rome in connection with the blood libel. In the proceedings related to the settlement of the rabbi's estate in 1772, his widow, Beyla (bat Moshe Me'ir) presented the notes *(membrany, mamranim)* of seven Jews, totaling 10,556 zloties, and other evidence of further loans of 3,772 zloties. In addition to jewelry, the legacy also included about 10,000 zloties in cash and 1,800 zloties worth of fabrics.[93]

Artisan-retailers were also in need of credit. When in 1757 two hatmakers declared themselves bankrupt, their inventory included hats and linings valued at 3,438 zloties.[94] Their debts, however, amounted to 7,360 zloties, 57 percent of which was owed to gentrymen, 12 percent to merchants in Chocim, Tartaków, and Rawicz, and 31 percent to Jews in Opatów.[95] More than half of the last category was a debt to Dawid Chęciński, a prominent Jewish merchant. Very likely, the latter two categories represented debts for materials supplied to the two hatmakers. The operating capital, however, came from the *szlachta.*

The cost of credit within the Jewish community could be significantly higher than the usual 10 percent paid to the *szlachta.* Two loans extended in 1770–71 by a Jewish creditor were for 16 and 17 percent.[96] In this period, the town owner forbade Jews who lent funds to each other to charge more than 12 percent on pawns or on notes. Some years later (1789), however, there were complaints that rates of 20 to 30 percent were being demanded.[97] Even allowing for hyperbole, these high rates reflect the increasingly difficult economic situation in the region, the consequent scarcity of investment capital, and the risks involved in commercial enterprise.

THE PRODUCTION AND SALE OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

In its region, Opatów was well-known for the quality and variety of its vodkas and beers. Together with the production and sale of mead, these industries were crucial both to the economy of the town and to the revenues of the estate of which it was a part.[98] The income deriving from the owner's monopoly on the production and sale of beverages exceeded by far any other single source of return from the town. These industries, further, employed a significant number of people. Throughout the eighteenth century, the production and sale of alcoholic beverages in Opatów, as in so many other towns in the commonwealth, was dominated by Jews; that is, the managers or lessees of the town owner's income *(arrendators)* from the production and sale of these beverages were all Jews. And the producers and retail distributors of vodka, beer, and mead were mainly Jews, as well.

The management of the monopoly on vodka was usually negotiated in the form of annual contracts, with the understanding that, if the terms were fulfilled, the term would in fact be three years. Every one of the forty-six known eighteenth-century contracts was held by a Jew or a group of Jews.[99] At the beginning of the century, one such contract, for the years 1706–9, was held by the kahal, but this was not repeated.[100] The *arrendator* supervised the production and distribution of vodka in the town. He was responsible for maintaining high quality and for seeing to it that accurate measures were used. He was to pay the *czopowe* (national beverage tax), and this was taken into account in his calculation of his bid for the contract. The town owners tried to ensure that not too much credit was extended to barkeepers and permitted the leaseholder to employ two to four deputies *(pachołków)* to assist in the collection of debts. Sometimes the contract also provided for the town owner to furnish a serf to carry water. Vodka could be secured free of tax by both Christians and Jews for special occasions, such as baptisms, funerals, and weddings. One or another *arrendator* often obtained, for a relatively small price, the right to produce and sell plum brandy *(wódka śliwowa)* for Passover.

The *arenda* on vodka was the most significant of the monopolies in the town. The actual amount of the contractual obligation of the leaseholder climbed steadily during the first half of the century, from 8,000 to 10,000 zloties in the first decade, to 28,000 to 32,000 zloties in the 1740s. During the decade beginning in 1756, there was a general omnibus contract, which included almost all of the monopolies in the town, the cost of which ranged between 41,000 and 44,000 zloties. Subsequently, between 1766 and 1788, the cost of the vodka contract ranged between 28,000 and 38,000 zloties. In addition to the figure noted in the contract, however, the *arrendator* was obliged to provide a cash payment of 300–900 zloties, sometimes to the

gubernator and sometimes to the town owner. In the 1720s and 1730s, the *gubernator* apparently carried this practice too far, leading to a series of complaints from the *arrendators*. Still, the contracts must have remained profitable, else, presumably, such extortion would not have been possible.[101] Fluctuations from year to year in the amount of the contract indicate that negotiations took place between the leaseholder and the estate in arriving at the value of the lease. It was understood, further, that losses due to circumstances beyond the control of the lessee would lead to reductions of his obligations. Although the contracts consistently stipulated that the lessee would make quarterly payments, in fact, only a varying proportion of his obligation was fulfilled in this way. The balance was paid out in accordance with notes, or payment orders, called *assygnacje,* signed by the town owner.

Throughout most of the century, control of vodka contracts was in the hands of three families. Between 1724 and 1745, Joel and Lewek Dada, together with Joel's son-in-law, Israel Markowicz, held all of the vodka monopoly contracts, sometimes with other partners. The brothers Lewek and Leyzor Chaimowicz of Ostrowiec held it in all but five of the years between 1745 and 1769. In the sixties and seventies, members of the Chęciński (Rapoport) family were the *arrendators*.

Those who sold vodka at retail, in taverns, inns, and in or in front of their homes, were also mainly Jews. Of more than a hundred such barkeepers whose names appeared on various lists in the course of the eighteenth century, 88 percent were Jews.[102] Thus, in 1754, there were sixteen sellers of vodka, of whom fourteen were Jews; seven of them were, characteristically, women. One of the two non-Jews did business (only?) on Jewish holidays. The other non-Jew was Piotrowa Węgrzynka, the wife of Peter Hungarian, who, as will be seen below, was probably primarily in the business of selling wine. Nevertheless, there were references in the lease contracts to Christian "taverns",[103] so that the domination by Jews may not have been quite as complete as would appear. Moreover, a 1788 inventory showed Christians owning seven taverns and four inns, mainly in the marketplace.[104]

Beer and mead were produced by the *arrendators* in the owner's breweries, as well as by private individuals. Each private producer had to pay a certain fee to the *arrendator* "of the beer and mead guilds."[105] The Jews who, from 1671 to 1768, owned a brewery in the Christian marketplace obtained special authorization from the town owner for its operation. It was sold to Lubomirski in 1768 or 1769.[106] In the case of beer and mead, like vodka, the contractors were to see to it that quality was maintained and that fair measures were used. They were to collect the debts owed them quarterly, beginning two weeks before the end of the quarter. They would be provided with a *pachołek* during this period or at any other time when such help was necessary for the purpose of collections. Between 1756 and 1766, the beer *arenda* was included

TABLE 4.4 THE VALUE OF SELECTED *ARENDA* CONTRACTS IN OPATÓW, 1724–1789 (ZLOTIES)

Period	Vodka	Beer and Mead	All Leases
1724–27	22,000	5,957	37,000
1756–64			41,000[a]
1767–68	30,000	8,900	51,550[b]
1771–72	28,000	6.400	51,950[c]
1777–78	31,000	8,000	61,900[d]
1779–80	26,000	8,000	54,800
1788–89	38,400	6,000	63,450

Source: Data based on ADO, I/41, I/42, I/63, I/76, I/88, I/91, I/98, II/21a, II/22, II/22a, II/22b, II/71; Anteriora, 108; Arch. Sang., 441; Akty Sang., 19/16, 163/4.

a. Omnibus contract.

b. Records incomplete; this is a minimum figure.

c. Includes also villages, tobacco, salt, and the estate's share of the Jewish meat tax (*korobka*).

d. Includes the items in note c plus the city inns and taverns.

in the omnibus contract. Toward the end of the century, beer and mead contracts began to include the monopoly on the sale of tobacco, as well. The value of the specific beer and mead lease is known only for the other years during the second half of the eighteenth century, when it ranged between six and eight thousand zloties (table 4.4). As in the case of the vodka *arenda*—and indeed all such contracts—certain individuals reappeared again and again in the role of *arrendator.*[107]

During the 1720s, the overwhelming majority of those who regularly sold beer and mead at retail was Jewish.[108] In 1723, for example, four Christians sold beer and one Christian sold mead, as opposed to twelve Jews who sold beer and eighteen who sold mead. Many other people, however, including Christians, sold beer occasionally, particularly during fairs and on market days. Indeed, lists from the 1780s show equal numbers of Jews and Christians.[109] The actual brewing was carried on by both Jews and Christians. Jews were expressly, if reluctantly, permitted membership in the brewers' guild charter, issued by Wiśniowiecki in 1681.[110]

During the eighteenth century, there were two, three, or four buildings owned at various times by the town owner.[111] These were leased to Jews for the sale of vodka, produced in the *pan's* distillery, and beer, brewed by the lessee. Sometimes, the building and tobacco leases were combined with others. The value of the leases on such individual sites, when they were leased separately, ranged between 300 and 1,000 zloties.

The lease contract on the three mills in Opatów usually included the town owner's brewery, the collection of tolls or excise on goods brought into town by merchants from elsewhere (called *myto,* or later *mostowy*), and the "sales

tax" *(targowe).* At times, there were other items as well, such as the salt monopoly. And on at least one occasion (1769–71), the contract was even broader, including the beer, mead, and tobacco monopolies.[112] The services of a miller were included in the contract and, usually, a horse, as well. The estate was to keep the mills in good repair. If the river was dry, there was a fixed reduction, agreed to in advance.[113]

In the villages around Opatów, the leases on the mills, breweries, distilleries, and taverns were regularly held by the town's Jews.[114] At times, one or two of these villages was included in the omnibus contract. Typically, the individual contracts included a mill, a brewery, and a distillery, together with a grainfield in one village and taverns in a few surrounding villages. The lessee received the services of one to three peasants, usually to work in the mill, as well as the backing of the estate authorities, if necessary, for the collection of debts. The amount of credit that could be extended in the mills and taverns was explicitly set: eight-ten zloties for a peasant *(kmieć),* four-six zloties for a cottager *(zagrodnik),* and two-three zloties for a tenant or hut dweller *(komornik, chałupnik).* The estate owner agreed to keep the mill and its equipment in good repair, and this was the subject of some disputes. The *arrendator* was to sell only ordinary vodka and not compete with the taverns in the town.

For a period of about nine years in the second half of the century, as mentioned, there was a general omnibus *arenda* contract, which included not only the production and wholesale distribution of vodka but also the town's three mills, the estate's income from the sale of mead and beer, the taverns and distilleries owned by the estate, the tobacco monopoly, and sales tax *(targowe),* the excise tax *(myto),* and two or three of the village mills, distilleries, and taverns. Every one of these contracts was held by the brothers Lewek and Leyzor Chaimowicz of Ostrowiec, sometimes with other partners. Although not explicitly stated in the texts of the contracts, it appears that the brothers were also granted exemption from communal taxes. Their names appeared on none of the tax rolls from that period. It is known that they lived in the town. Indeed, when Leyzor Chaimowicz died in 1771, his brick house was evaluated at 8,200 zloties, a very substantial sum. In 1764–65, his household numbered eight persons, including himself, his wife, his daughter and son-in-law, and several servants.[115] After 1765, however, it proved more profitable to break up the omnibus *arenda* once again into its constituent parts.

As noted earlier, during the period 1764–67, only eight of the sixty-one Opatów merchants recorded in the toll books were not Jews. Of these eight, five were wine merchants.[116] In 1765–66, they imported a total of 331 barrels *(beczki)* of Hungarian wine to Opatów. That total corresponds to the amount brought into the town in 1771–72, according to other sources (344 barrels).[117] The nonparticipation of Jews in the wine trade was characteristic of the region. None of the Jewish merchants of Sandomierz, Ostrowiec, Staszów,

Chęciny, Nowe Miasto, or Kolbuszowa was recorded as a transporter of wine in the toll records of 1764–67. Indeed, even among the 378 entries recording the toll payments of Jewish merchants from Pińczów, there was no reference to wine. To be sure, in other parts of Poland, Jews were quite active in the wine trade—most famously, Ber Birkenthal of Bolechów.[118] The general pattern of a kind of ethnic division of commodities was common in this period, but why Jews should have yielded to Hungarians in one region but not in another is not easy to explain.[119] The wine dealers in Opatów were as follows:[120]

1707–27	Andrew Thomson
1727-?	Ewa Gordonowa, Jan Kondrat
1736-?	Jonas Palnota
1740–58	Piotr Michalewicz
1744-?	Jerzy Saul, Jan Michalski
1758–66	Adam Adamowski, Jan Saul
1762–72	Mikolaj Saul, Jerzy Adamowski
1766-?	Jan Zielinski, Gregorz Sabatowski, Sobczynski, Jasek Tolpet
1784-?	Anastazi and Dymetryusz Bendelom, Irsz Saul

Except for wine, then, the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic beverages was almost exclusively in Jewish hands. It is difficult to determine what proportion of the Jewish population was directly or indirectly involved in this sector. This is because of the fluidity of occupations in the period. Two of the most important *arrendators* of vodka, for example, were also merchants. Moszko Chęciński and Leyzor Chaimowicz imported significant quantities of furs in 1766.[121] Moreover, the *arenda* contracts themselves provide no indication of how many subcontractors and employees were dependent on the lessee. Further, the contracts that have been preserved are an insufficient basis for estimating the number of Jewish taverners and innkeepers in the villages. A 1771 Jewish communal tax roll lists *arrendators* in thirty-nine villages, many of them not part of the Opatów holdings.[122]

CONCLUSION

It is clear, then, that during the eighteenth century Jews became the predominant active element in the economy of the town. They dominated virtually all of the commercial activity and controlled much of the production. The only major exceptions were the trade in wine and shoemaking. But for the Jewish presence, the town would effectively have ceased to exist as an urban entity. And in this way, Opatów became a "Jewish" town, even though there was a large Christian minority.[123] In the following chapter the social dimension of Jewish life is examined.

5

Jewish Society

The portrayal of what the poets call the dailiness of life has proven to be a singularly elusive goal because of the nature of the sources: so many questions left unanswered, so many pictures left half-drawn. As much as one would like to understand how reality was constructed, what people—men, women, rich, poor, the educated, the ignorant—might have thought or felt, the documents yield only fragments and shards. This chapter is, thus, limited by the nature of the sources—even what appears to be direct testimony was mediated by the clerks or the notaries who recorded it—and by the necessity, in this study, of staying within the limits of a single town. Although, for example, it is certain that both demons and the dead "lived" in the Jewish community of Opatów, neither appears in the sources.[1]

Except for market days and during fairs and on holidays, the rutted, unpaved, frequently muddy streets of Opatów were quiet, most particularly on the Jewish Sabbath. The stillness, however, masked both vitality and tension. At unpredictable moments, the stress and tension were unleashed. They were the products, in part, of the power of social sanctions in the intimate context of the community. There were also formal sanctions for unacceptable behavior, the most extreme of which was expulsion—or at least, the removal of the right of residence.

NONCONFORMITY AND OTHER FORMS OF DEVIANCE

Information has been preserved regarding at least seven instances in the eighteenth century in which the right of residence actually was removed from individuals, usually for a second offense.[2] All of the people sanctioned in this way were males, and four of them were called *ha-naʿar,* which literally means "the youth." While it is likely that these were in fact young men—in one

case, members of the community were forbidden to betroth their daughters to the miscreant—the term could also denote low social status or mental incompetence, unrelated to chronological age. The occasion for punishment, in four of the seven cases, was defiance of the elders of the community. The others involved repeated theft and fornication.[3]

Defiance was described in various ways: "he opened his mouth, contrary to law, against the captains and leaders of our community" (1735); or "he misbehaved and refused to accept the sentence of the elders, captains, and leaders of our community" (1740, 1745); or he had been convicted several times as a thief, and "he opened his mouth, contrary to law, uttering words which may not be written, 'his tongue is a sharpened arrow.'"[4] It would appear from the language used in the communal minute book, wherein most of these decisions were recorded, that removal of the right of residence did not necessarily mean expulsion from the town. It is clear, however, that "opening one's mouth" against the elders was a severe offense indeed.

Generally speaking, first offenses were not treated in this way; rather, the offender was warned that he ought to be expelled because of his crime but that, "out of compassion" for him and his family, his continued residence in the community had been permitted. A less severe penalty was to declare the individual disqualified as a witness and his oath suspect (*passul le-ᶜedut u-le-shevuah*).

A most unusual case, which occurred in 1798, involved the only known instance of something like excommunication being used as a sanction. Apparently, ideas of religious skepticism had reached Opatów, and a local "Spinoza" had appeared. The following is the entry in the communal minute book, with a few elisions for the sake of brevity:

> In the matter of the evil and sinful deed committed by the wicked man of Belial, Ṣevi Hirsh ben reb Eliᶜezer: he desecrated the name of Heaven in public before reliable and trustworthy householders of this community and before noblemen who are not of the Jewish religion. We know this from the testimony under oath of those reliable and truthworthy witnesses. For this reason we have convoked the full assembly of the elders of the kahal and the householders who pay the highest taxes and belong to the assembly. We have agreed [on the following] judgment. Since Ṣevi Hirsh has, of his own will, and in public, removed himself from the religion of Israel, so will he be distinguished and separated from all the holiness of Israel. He may not be counted in a quorum for prayer or for any other sacred rite. He will not be permitted to enter the synagogue or the prayer hall for any quorum [for prayer]. He is also disqualified as a witness, and his oath is unacceptable. . . . This Ṣevi Hirsh will not be buried in our cemetery, but only outside of it.

The decree was signed by the rabbi and six others on Monday, 19 Heshvan, 5559.[5]

One of the striking aspects of this case is the reference to the audience for Ṣevi Hirsh's comments. Apparently Jews and noblemen were engaged in a discussion of theological matters. In this context—and it is noteworthy that the contact seems to have been neither instrumental nor belligerent—a declaration of nonbelief was made by this Opatów "Spinoza." Noteworthy, also, is the absence of references to Christianity and to apostasy. Ṣevi Hirsh announced only that he was no longer a believer in Judaism. Moreover, there were no economic sanctions, his right of residence was not removed, nor were the ceremonies or the technical terms for excommunication, *ḥerem* or *niddui,* employed. This may have been due to his having been well established enough to defy such measures. There can be no certain identification, but a Herszek Leyzorowicz paid a 1.5-zloty *sympla* weekly in 1776—a large amount.[6] If this was the same person, it would support such a hypothesis. In any event, the case was quite exceptional for the time.

Most people were not in a position to be defiant, not so much because of the sanctions as because of the social pressures to conform. In this context, shaming was a powerful penalty indeed. In the entrance of the synagogue was the *kuna,* an iron collar for the neck and chains for the legs of offenders. The transgressor would be placed there, usually on the Sabbath at the time of morning prayers. This meant that he would be on view to the largest possible number of people and would feel the weight of his sin and his shame. Such a punishment was worse than a fine.[7]

In one dramatic episode, the son of a prosperous family was convicted of stealing valuable galloon from the synagogue and selling it to a Jew from the neighboring town of Klimontów.[8] His sentence was severe. It included three Sabbaths in the *kuna* holding the stolen goods, as well as fines paid to the kahal and to the town owner. Moreover, he was barred permanently from holding office in the community. His sentence was to be read out three times, on three occasions, in the synagogue and was to be permanently recorded in the communal minute book.

Shaming was a form of exclusion or abandonment of the individual by his community. In the closely knit Jewish society in eighteenth-century Opatów, it must have been a powerful disincentive to deviance.[9] Those for whom the possibility of public shame worked as a deterrent were those who felt themselves part of the community. Presumably, the more peripheral the person, both at the top and at the bottom of the social hierarchy, the less force it had.

FEMALE SERVANTS

Unfortunately, those at the very bottom of the social scale, the itinerant poor, who wandered from town to town, staying for as long as they were permitted in the *heqdesh* (poorhouse-hospital), have left virtually no record in the sources

connected with Opatów. Some documentation, however, of two cases involving sexual exploitation of female domestic servants has been preserved. These fragmentary records offer some insight into this usually inarticulate part of the population.

The first of these is the transcript of the questioning of a Jewish woman by an official of the estate; he followed a set of questions provided to him by some other administrator.[10] The text is entirely in Polish; there is no indication that her answers were translated. Since the Polish is rather poor and ungrammatical, it is likely that she spoke the words more or less as they are transcribed. The following is a free translation of the essential parts of the document, which was dated June 24, 1759.

Q. What is your name?
A. Ryfka Gierszeniowna.
Q. Where is your family from and where do you live?
A. I live in Baranów. I was born in a village, but I do not remember its name. My family, however, was from Klimontów.
Q. How long have you lived in Baranów?
A. Less than one year.
Q. And before you came to Baranów, where did you live?
A. In Opatów.
Q. What work did you do in Opatów?
A. I had no trade; I was a servant.
Q. For whom were you a servant in Opatów?
A. At first for Lachman and then in two [other] places, but I do not remember the householder's name.[11]
Q. Answer, then, what was the name of the Jew for whom you last worked, and where does he live?
A. His name is Wulf, and he lives in the upper part, Mrs. Marek has the second [lower] half of the house. Wulf also has a spice shop.[12]
Q. What is your status; are you married?
A. I had a husband when I was in Staszów—among us, young women must marry—I was persuaded [tricked?] by a Jew, and a marriage was arranged.[13]
Q. How long ago was this?
A. Four years ago.
Q. What was your husband's name, and where was his family from?
A. His name was Leyb, and I do not know his other name, since this was what I called him. I do not know where his family was from.
Q. And where is your husband now?
A. I do not know. He lived with me close to two years, and we were divorced. I have been without a husband now for two years.
Q. Did you have children while you lived with your husband?
A. No, only he had three children from his first wife, since he was a widower when he married me. Later, when we were divorced, he went

his own way with the children, and I came here to Opatów to be a servant.

Q. When you lived with your husband, you had no children. Where did you get the one you have now, without a husband?

A. Here in Opatów.

Q. From whom in Opatów?

A. From a Jew.

Q. What is this Jew's name?

A. Mosiek Miernik [Moshe, who "measures" (grain)].

Q. How did you come to have carnal intercourse with him?

A. I went to him for *kashe,* for bread for my employer, Wulf. There being nobody around, he did not let me go until he had fulfilled his will.

Q. How many times did this happen with him?

A. Only two times, after [the first time] when I came [again], and nobody was around, he used me once more and fulfilled his will a second time. He gave me to understand that it would not harm me. Now, I have a child without a place to live or any means of support.

Q. Where did this happen and when?

A. Both times, in his house in the heated room [*izba*], in the morning. At that time, everyone had gone.

Q. How did you permit this; he must have promised or given you something for your compliance.

A. He promised, but I do not know what. He said, "I will give you what is coming to you." And later, knowing I was in the fourth month, I was ashamed to appear in the city [and so] I went to Baranów where the Jews helped me according to custom. So, I received nothing from him.[14]

Q. Had not the same thing happened on other, earlier, occasions?

A. No, and even now, I do not think of it; he forced me.

Q. When the time came to give birth, who knew about this?

A. All of Baranów knew, since I told them it was from my husband from whom I was divorced. Otherwise, they would not have helped me. It was not from my husband though, but from that Moszko Miernik.

Q. Here in Opatów, did the town owner's court, the rabbi, or the Jewish judges know how you became pregnant?

A. No one knew except God and me, even that Mosiek did not know, since once I understood I was in the fourth month, I immediately went to Baranów. And now, when I return to Baranów, I shall say [again] it is from my husband. Otherwise, they would not help me or give me anything.

Q. Who revealed what you had done, when the matter had been so secret?

A. I do not know who revealed my secret deed. I told no one, only that his honor, the lord *ekonom* [an administrator] in Baranów, ordered the kahal to send me to Opatów. And they did so, even though I asked them to send me somewhere else. They would not, saying that it was the order of the *ekonom* to send me to Opatów.

Q. Are you telling the whole truth about this Moszko Miernik? Are you

not acting out of spite, or because someone prompted you? Perhaps this "matter" is from someone else, and you are blaming him [Moszko]?

A. God forbid that I would deceive or trick anyone or that I had relations with anyone else. No, it is the truth. I had relations with no one but with him those two times. This child is his. He will deny it, but I can tell you of no one else because I was with no one except him.

In 1755, Mosiek Miernik was living as a tenant in another's house; by 1765, he owned a house and had a wife and two children.[15] There are no further records regarding him or the accusations made against him in 1759. The poignant picture that emerges from the testimony of Ryfka Gierszeniowna allows for few general inferences. Obviously, she lived in four or five different places and had no permanent home. She did not know the name of the village in which she had been born, or the full name of the man to whom she claimed to have been married for two years, or the names of the people for whom she had worked. There is in her manner of speech, at least insofar as it was accurately reflected in the transcript, a quality of resignation or passivity and a sense that she counted for little in her own eyes and in those of society. She believed, no doubt correctly, that she would be ostracized if it were known that her child was illegitimate. As to the truth of her testimony, as compelling as it seems, it must be recalled that only her version, and not that of Mosiek, has been preserved.

Another, somewhat similar, case occurred in 1778. In this instance, both Polish and Hebrew-Yiddish versions of part of the testimony have survived.[16] The servant girl (*mesharetet, betulah/dziewka*), whose name was not recorded, appeared before the Jewish court, which had been convened in the rabbi's residence. She accused Herczko Chaima Zawierucha (Ṣevi Hirsh ben Ḥayyim) of having had sexual relations with her twice, in the home of her employer, Abuś Tabacznik.[17] The first time, she claimed, it happened in front of the oven in the "large room"; the second time, in the cellar. She yelled for help, but because it was night, there was no one to save her. She declared, further, that she was pregnant from Herczko, and no one else. On learning that she was pregnant, the wife of her employer paid her a full year's salary and sent her to Warsaw with some Jews from Ostrowiec. The wife of Gierszon Cyrulik (barber-surgeon), whose son was married to the daughter of Abuś Tabacznik, testified that she had met the girl in a village called Koronacie. The girl had asked the wife of Gierszon Cyrulik for a drug (presumably, to induce an abortion). The wife of Abuś Tabacznik forbade the wife of Gierszon Cyrulik to give the girl such a drug. Rather, according to the testimony, the wife of Abuś Tabacznik reported the whole matter to the *ekonom.* Other witnesses claimed that the wife of Gierszon Cyrulik was sent to give the girl eight zloties in an effort to persuade her not to reveal what had happened. The

transcript notes that the girl had made her charge before the court with Herczko present. He admitted nothing and denied the charge. With that, the record breaks off.

Herczko's father was an *arrendator* and a relatively prosperous member of the community.[18] Thus it is not surprising that an attempt was made to purchase the girl's silence and to send her out of town. The fact that she was prepared to lodge a complaint, formally, before the rabbi and the elders of the community, unlike Ryfka Gierszeniowna some twenty years earlier, would seem to lend some credence to her complaint. Without more evidence, however, it cannot be known if she was telling the truth. The fact that her name was not recorded is not necessarily an indication that she was seen as a nonentity; the purpose may well have been to protect her name from scandal.

The sexual exploitation of female domestic servants by more or less wealthy (young) men is not an uncommon phenomenon in any society, and it is not surprising to encounter it among eighteenth-century Polish Jews.[19] That matters reached the ears of officials when young women became pregnant is also to be expected. Equally ordinary is the fact that there is no indication in the sources that the servant women obtained any compensation for their suffering or that the accused men were punished in any way. What is not immediately understandable is the interest the town owner's administration showed in the proceedings. Why were these not strictly matters internal to the Jewish community?

It is known that in Catholic urban society, in this period, there was an unusual preoccupation with combating mortal sins connected to sex. It has been suggested that this reflected, partially, concern about hygiene, particularly concern about venereal diseases, which were a growing plague.[20] Still, the town owner may simply have been trying to maintain order and sobriety, or it may be that these were instances of the very close supervision of the Jewish courts by Lubomirski's administration (for more on this, see chapter 8). Finally, it should be noted that adultery was a criminal offense and, thus, may have been subject to the town owner's rather than the kahal's jurisdiction.[21]

THE HOUSEHOLD

According to data from the 1760s, there were servants in thirty-three, or almost 8 percent, of the Jewish households in Opatów.[22] This should be seen as a minimum figure. Servants performed various domestic tasks, and they were used to carry messages: "Mr. *X* would like very much to speak to Mr. *Y*."[23] It is not possible to determine the relative proportions of male and female servants in the town.

Although most Jews in Opatów lived in multifamily houses, the majority

of households consisted of uncomplicated nuclear families (see chapter 1). The addition of a son-in-law was the most common complication, occurring in 5–14 percent of the households. The frequency of the practice increased during the middle decades of the eighteenth century.[24] One would like very much to know if this increasing frequency was a widespread trend. If it were, it would be a crucial datum in the demographic history of Polish Jews and would require explanation. In any case, the data lend support to the claim that the practice of families supporting young married children during the first several years after marriage was limited to the wealthier stratum of Jewish society.[25] Not only is this conclusion supported by logic (these families had the means to support the young couple), but an analysis of three eighteenth-century lists of the Jewish population in Opatów shows that fully four-fifths of such instances involved homeowners and not tenants.[26]

These data also buttress the contention that the rate of growth of the Jewish population accelerated in the course of the eighteenth century.[27] And they suggest an explanation linked to the practice of housing young married couples (*kest*). The rapid rate of Jewish population growth compared with that of Christians was the result, apparently, of lower rates of infant mortality among Jews.[28] Age at marriage—or rather, the age of the mother at the first birth—is, as is well known, a crucial factor in limiting infant mortality. It appears from these, admittedly limited, data that the women who were youngest at first birth were in the wealthier households, where, presumably, there was more heat, better hygiene, better food, and greater access to medical care than in poorer households. Yeḥezqel Landau, the famous rabbi of Prague, was born in Opatów to a family both prosperous and prominent. He reported that "this was simply the custom, that the marriage took place in the thirteenth year. . . . My older brother married the daughter of the . . . rabbi of Ostróg . . . one half-month before his Bar Mitzvah."[29] About 1766, 94 percent of the families with five or more children were headed by homeowners, and 52 percent of those households included servants. In Opatów, at least, it would appear that the adage that the rich get richer and the poor get children did not apply. The matter requires further, and broader, research.

Jewish infant mortality may have been lower than average, but the death of infants and children was, nevertheless, common. Indeed, the threat that one would not be permitted "to bury his children" was used to enforce compliance with various regulations by the town owner's administration.[30] The records of the Jewish Burial Society in Opatów for 1787–88 list thirty-four funerals and the income from each. This is followed by a global entry for the funerals of children.[31] There is no indication of how many children were buried: the income to the society from such funerals was more than 10 percent of the total income.

Almost one-quarter of the Burial Society's income was devoted to expend-

itures connected with the burial of the "foreign poor," that is, of Jews from elsewhere who were not, legally, permanent members of the Opatów community. Here too, unfortunately, there is no indication of how many funerals were involved.[32]

WOMEN AS ECONOMIC ACTORS

Women were only occasionally independent economic actors. Much more often, they collaborated with their husbands. For this reason, it is virtually impossible to quantify or measure their economic activities. There were women who were bakers, shopkeepers, salt dealers, cowherds, *arrendators,* and barkeepers. Except for the barkeepers, their number cannot be computed. In five lists of "those who sell liquor" in the course of the eighteenth century, 42 percent of those listed were Jewish women.[33] This means they dispensed vodka in street-level rooms in houses, mainly on the Jewish street. A list of twenty Jewish salt dealers compiled in 1770 includes four women.[34]

Commercial loan instruments were sometimes cosigned by both husband and wife, and sometimes women received loans in their own names.[35] The *arenda* for the collection of the meat tax was once held by two women and a man who was the son-in-law of one of them, all members of wealthy families.[36] And the *arenda* contract on the production and sale of liquor was once signed by a husband and wife.[37] Such cases, however, were unusual.

In 1758, 352 Jews paid the tax on commerce. Of these, 33 (9.4 percent) were women.[38] The average annual payment overall was 54 zloties. The average for women was 30 zloties. Only one woman paid more than 100 zloties; she was the widow of Lewek Futernik. She paid an annual commerce tax of 725 zloties. If her payment is removed from consideration, the average tax of the remaining thirty-two women is slightly less than 8 zloties. In other words, the number of women involved in the economy on their own was rather small, and they were involved mainly in petty trade. Not surprisingly, many of these women were identified as widows. Although the data are even more scattered and impressionistic, it would seem that the proportion of women as independent actors was not much different among the Christian population of the town.[39]

The involvement of Jewish women in trade generally took the form of collaboration with their husbands. When a declaration of bankruptcy was to be made, a man's wife had to be with him when he took his oath that he was without means.[40] Although the phenomenon is known elsewhere, there were no women among the itinerant Jewish merchants from Opatów.[41] Indeed, the commercial tax regulations of 1758 included, as a separate category, "those who leave their wives here in the city and go to other towns to seek profits and to carry on trade."[42]

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The Jewish population of Opatów included a shifting population of the "foreign poor." Such people seldom paid taxes, so that a picture of the distribution of wealth among the residents based on the amount of weekly taxes paid would have to be corrected substantially to reflect the presence of the poor, servants, and others who paid no tax at all. Lubomirski's periodic demands that the poor be expelled, since they generated no revenue, also reflects this situation.[43] Precisely because they paid no taxes, however, the itinerant, vocationless poor cannot be counted.

If the distribution of tax payments among the population in 1760 and in 1776 is compared, the differences that emerge are mainly at the lowest and highest ends of the scale. By 1776, a larger proportion of the community's taxpayers was paying a smaller tax, and a smaller proportion was paying very high weekly taxes, in excess of six zloties. This bears out the general picture of decline, reflected in various other measures as well. While in 1760, more than 12 percent of the taxpayers were assessed more than two zloties weekly, this proportion had fallen to 6.6 percent by 1776. And even more significantly, the number of taxpayers had fallen by 14.5 percent. Payment of at least two zloties a week was the technical qualification for participation in kahal elections. The vast majority of taxpayers paid less than half that amount. More than 85 percent of the taxpayers in Opatów, not to mention those who were not taxed because of their poverty, were essentially without franchise. Their income was likely at a level that made luxuries unattainable.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL UNIVERSE

The horizons of the merchants and the scholars of Opatów extended well beyond the limits of the town itself. And for many Jews in Opatów, the option of moving elsewhere to seek opportunities was continuously and consciously available. Moreover, it was a frequent enough occurrence for daughters, particularly of wealthy Jews, to marry men from elsewhere and to move to their new husband's towns to warrant the demand by the town owner that a list of such cases be prepared annually.[44] Individuals also left to seek their fortunes in other places. In 1755, the taxes unpaid by people who had moved away amounted to 430 zloties.[45] In 1760, the tax rolls noted the departure of sixteen people but did not indicate their destinations.[46] Many went to nearby villages and to Warsaw. As noted earlier, by 1778, at least seventy-three Jewish households from Opatów were in the capital.[47]

Indeed, the preponderance of Jews from the Sandomierz *województwo* in Warsaw is eloquent testimony to the stagnation, if not the decline, of the economy of the towns in that region. The growing Jewish population could

not be supported at home.[48] While some turned to innkeeping in the villages, others became the harbingers of the dramatic metropolitanization of the European Jewish population in the nineteenth century. Some Opatów Jews traveled beyond the boundaries of Poland to settle or to sojourn, seeking enlightenment, spiritual satisfaction, or economic betterment. They appeared in German territories, in England, in France, in India, in America, and in the Holy Land.

In 1702, Samuel, son of Shimʿon of Opatów was registered among the medical students at the University of Frankfurt on the Oder, after obtaining a special license from the Prussian monarch. Samuel had been a student of Yiṣḥaq Meʾir Theomim Frankel in Pińsk for two and a half years. The latter was well known as a doctor, though he lacked formal training.[49] When Samuel sought to continue his medical studies, he could not find "anyone in our country who pleased me, and for this reason, I wandered like a fledgling [far] from the nest, until I came to this city full of the wise men of the nations. . . . When I saw the extent of their wisdom, I stood trembling and astonished."[50] Samuel was lonely in Frankfurt, and he wrote to a Jewish medical student in Halle asking him to join him in Frankfurt, but without success. Samuel's wandering and his reaction to the "wise men of the nations" anticipated a pattern repeated throughout the century by many intrepid Eastern European Jews. In a certain sense, the Haskalah, or the enlightenment of Eastern European Jews, began as a consequence of such experiences.

Another connection between Opatów and the pre-Haskalah era is related to London. It became common in the eighteenth century for Polish-Lithuanian Jews to travel to London and become rabbis or tutors of traditional subjects.[51] Nathan Nata Shapiro, who may have been related by marriage to the Landau family, became rabbi of the Hambro synagogue in London early in the eighteenth century. His daughter married Naftali Tang (Taussig). The couple had at least two sons: Leib and Abraham. The latter, called Abraham Abrahams, was the author of a number of works that might well be called proto-Haskalah, or Haskalahlike compositions, including the first Hebrew translation from English literature.[52]

Sometime between 1696 and 1700, a judge (*dayyan*) from Opatów traveled to German lands "with the exiles from Poland."[53] His name was Ḥanokh Zundel; in 1696 he was listed first in the first group of communal judges.[54] In the preface to his book, *Leqet shikheḥa u-peiah,* he explained that he found himself "alone among the . . . exiles," until a certain Shelomoh, warden of a small German community, gave him work as tutor to his sons. If Ḥanokh Zundel fled some specific danger before 1700, it may have been connected to the blood libel trial in Sandomierz in 1698, which also implicated some Jews in Opatów.[55]

In 1777, the rabbi (Moshe) of Cavaillon, in France, was from Opatów.

According to Ḥayyim Yosef David Azulai (1726–1807), those who described Rabbi Moshe as very learned were exaggerating grossly (*guzmot*). Indeed, when Rabbi Moshe, preaching in the Cavaillon synagogue, mentioned Azulai by name, Azulai nevertheless refused to congratulate his host. This famous emissary of the rabbinical academy of Hebron dismissed Moshe, saying the latter "had been rabbi of a community of six households in Ashkenaz" before coming to Cavaillon.[56]

Although Azulai's memoir has made him the best-known Jewish traveler of the period, he was certainly not the only one. A tax roll in 1755 indicates that a certain Wolf, the spice dealer, was "*na Nowym Świecie.*"[57] This could have meant that he was in a town or village called Nowy Świat or even on the street by that name in Warsaw. On the 1778 list of Jews in Warsaw, none was listed as living there. The term, however, could also have meant "in the New World." At least one Jew from Opatów did visit America, in 1772. There, he met Ezra Stiles, who recorded descriptions of their meetings:

> [Nov.] 9 . . . This forenoon I visited a learned Jew in Town & on his travels. He is really a Rabbi. His Title is [Hebrew characters] "The Doctor our Doctor the great Rabbi, Moses the son of David an Ashcanazin of little Poland, of the holy Synagogue at Apta." He is now aet. 52 born at Apta in Poland, 27 German miles from Cracow. Has studied in all the Jew colleges . . . in Poland and received the Title of Rabbi at Barot [Brody?] . . . which was confirmed in Glogau 36 or 38 years ago. Began his Travels at 20 & finished them at 34 when he returned to Poland AD 1755 havg been 14 years on Travels. He went to Jerusalem, Cairo, Tiberias, Saphat, Aleppo, Ur of the Chaldea, the R. Chebar, Mossul, Bagdat, Mt. Ararat, Bassora, Ispahaun, Cassan, Hamadan, & Surat in India, where he lived 2 ½ years & returned thence by Water to Europe in 1755. He has read both Talmuds, Hie Gaon, the Zohar, & is well acquainted with the Rabbins of the Middle Ages as Maimonides, Jarchi, the Kimchis &c. He had with him the Itinerary of R. Benja Tudelensis in AD 1170, but says he could not find many places mentioned by him. He says there are few Jews at Ninveh. . . . he could find none of the Ten Tribes.
>
> The letter Testimonial from the Head of the Portuguese Synagogue in London[58] stiles him thus [Hebrew characters]. . . .
>
> In the afternoon R. Moses came to my house in Compy with Hazan Touro of this Town. We had much convers both of his Travels & on the Talmud & Rabbinical Literature. I showed him the Zohar with which he was much delighted, speaking with Raptures of the Sublimity & Mysteries of its Contents; he told me if I could comprehend that Book I should be a Master of the Jewish Learning & of the greatest philosophy in the World. He explained several Passages in it respecting the holy Name, and the ten Saphirots. Of the Saphirots he spake with Eyes turned up heavenward & with Fervor. He said R. Moses Ben Maimon had written upon nine of the Gilgalim or Circles, but not on the tenth, which he left as too deep and mysterious. He said the ten . . . were

Circles, upon which I showed him the Circles of the celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius Areopa[gite]. And asked him whether they were the Same as the 9 Circles upon which Maimonides wrote? These circles denoting angelic orders around the Throne or created Intelligences, they might be written upon & fully described; but the glorious [tetragrammaton in Hebrew characters] enthroned in the central Light was mysterious & incomprehensible & rather to be silently contemplated with humble Reverence, than to be boldly described by a mortal pen. Whether this was the reason that Maimonides was deterred from writing on the Tenth? He doubted Dionysius' Naming of the Orders—but supposed the Galgalim denoted Circles of Beings & the Incomprehensibility of the Xth deterred R. Moses.

We had much discourse on the Talmud. . . . This R. Moses says that the Talmudim or Scholars when they come to study the Talmud are obliged by academic custom to read eighteen *peraqi* [in Hebrew characters] every day, which carries them thro the Talmud in 29 days. . . . I expressed some Surprize . . . But he said this was the Rule, & Such an one was then stiled Gaon. . . . I asked him whether R. Simeon Ben Jochaj did not obtain the sublime Things of his Zohar from R. Akiba his Master? he said yes. . . .

Nov. 10 . . . R. Moses last evening left with me *Sefer sha*ᶜ*ar orah*[59] [in Hebrew characters] the Book of the Gate of Light to assist me understanding the Zohar. This is an Illustration upon each of the X holy Names or the X Sephirot.

Nov. 12 . . . Rabbi Moses came & Spent the afternoon with me. . . .

[Nov.] 16 . . . Rabbi Moses lent me a small volume called *Sefer sha*ᶜ*arei ṣiyyon*[60] [in Hebrew characters] supposed to have been written by the Patriarch Abraham; the present Copy was composed by R. Akiba. . . . I spent the evening with the Rabbi. I asked him whether the order of the Alphabet was the same in Abrahams as Akibas Day? he said yes. I asked, but he did not give any clear Illustra of the sublimities of the Saphirot &c. . . .

[Nov.] 23 . . . This Afternoon visited by Rabbi Moses. . . . R. Moses spent the rest of the afternoon in my Study explaining the Zohar to me. . . . In explaining which he said some curious & wonderful things. . . .

[Nov.] 30 . . . Rabbi Moses visited me again & Spent the Afternoon with me. He said the Rabbins mentioned in Zohar were most of them contemporary with the Author. . . . We discoursed much on the prophecies of Messiah. I asked him how we should understand the Rabbins in the few places or passages wherein they spoke of a suffering Messiah? He replied—there are to be 2 Messiahs, Ben David & Ben Joseph: that Ben Joseph was to come first & gather all Israel into the holy Land, and thereupon GogMagog should come up against them, kill Messiah Ben Joseph & make great Slaughter among Israel: that then Ben David should appear & destroy Gog&c. & reign gloriously. I asked whether it would answer to consider both Messiahs as one person & understand as the Xtians? He said no. . . . This led us to the Time of Messiah & to the Numbers in Daniel. . . . Mr. Touro & the Rabbi seem to agree in Saying—We indeed look out everyday, but rather think Messiah is to come 4 or 500 years hence at

> the End of 6000th year of the World & being of VIIth or Sabbatical Millenary. I asked Mr. Touro, whence the diff[erences] of Jews & Xtians as the Year of the World? he said he had often thought of it, & knows no Reason of it.
>
> I asked what was a Nazarite? Rabbi replied one that has a Vow of penance for a day, a Month or 30 days as was common, or 2 or 3 years; that in ancient Times the Jews usually shaved their heads, tho not their Beards. . . .
>
> [Dec.] 7 . . . R. Moses visited me to day.
>
> [Dec.] 8 . . . R. Moses visited me again to day. We conversed much upon the Messiah. He took Leave. . . .
>
> [Dec.] 14 . . . R. Moses sailed for the West Indies.[61]

It has not been possible to establish the identity of Rabbi Moses beyond this report of him. Nor is there any indication of the purpose of his various travels that Stiles commented on. Perhaps R. Moses, like a few others from Opatów in the course of the eighteenth century, originally set out to settle in Jerusalem. In the second decade, Yosef, son of Yeḥezqel Landau, obtained permission from the town owner to immigrate to Jerusalem. He died in a drowning accident before he could carry out his plan.[62] In about 1734, another prominent son of Opatów, Aryeh Yehuda Leib, son of Alexander, did move to Jerusalem. His father was rabbi of Wojslawice but resided in Opatów, where he was also a wealthy merchant.[63] Aryeh Yehuda Leib sometimes identified himself by reference to his grandfather, "Leib Ḥassid, who was rabbi of Lwów."[64]

It is well established that there was a circle of mystics in Opatów and that these had strong ties to the better-known group in Brody. The *kloiz* of Opatów was established early in the eighteenth century and was connected to the activities of members of the Landau family (see chapter 7). The journeys of Aryeh Yehuda Leib and Moshe Ben David to Jerusalem were made too late to place them as part of the Sabbatian group, which came to Jerusalem at the beginning of the century, nor were they members of the first (Beshtian) Hasidic group, which arrived around midcentury. It seems likely that their travels were, nonetheless, undertaken to serve spiritual and mystical aims.[65] Otherwise, why would R. Moshe have had with him two classic mystical works? Aryeh Yehuda Leib did join the Hasidic group led by Gershon Kutover once it had arrived. And the passages in Stiles's diary do seem to reflect a man concerned with the mysteries.

HASIDISM

In the eighteenth century, the term *ḥassid* denoted an ascetic concerned with a spiritual quest and the study of esoteric texts. The concept was transformed,

during the last three or four decades of the century, by the followers of Israel ben Eliezer, Baʾal Shem Tov (the Besht), and others. At the time, these were sometimes called, "the recently arrived *ḥassidim.*" Charismatic mystic leaders, called *ṣaddiqim,* translated mystical doctrines and ideas into a message they taught in an exoteric way and soon had gathered large numbers of followers. Paralleling, at least chronologically, new movements of revival in Christian Europe and America, the new Hasidism became a broad movement among Eastern European Jews. It was still growing at the end of the eighteenth century, spreading from its original strongholds in Ruthenia, Ukraine, and White Russia, further and further into central Poland. At first, however, the boundaries between the old-style ascetic *ḥassidim* and the new *ḥassidim* were not clear-cut.[66] Thus, it is difficult to determine whether, when Naḥman Kossover, a sometime companion of the Besht, visited Opatów in the early 1740s, he came to spread the new movement or whether his visit was an instance of an old-style *ḥassid* calling on like-minded comrades who were connected with the *kloiz* in Opatów.[67]

According to the one surviving description of the event, Kossover's visit to Opatów was arranged by Yeḥezqel Landau.[68] He subsequently expressed strong criticism of Beshtian Hasidism.[69] Yiṣḥaq and Yehuda Landau, Yeḥezqel's uncle and father, had ties to Moshe Ḥayyim Luzzatto (RaMḤaL, 1706–46), whose teachings were influential among European Jewish mystics.[70] This would suggest that perhaps Naḥman's visit was not connected to the new Hasidism, but it cannot be taken as conclusive evidence.[71] Still, there is no positive indication that the Hasidic movement penetrated Opatów at that time.

Nathan Neta Shapiro, known as Reb Notele Apter, was an uncle by marriage of Yiṣḥaq and Yehuda Landau. Reb Notele's son, Moshe, was the teacher of the members of the Holy Society of the Eternal Light for the Sabbath in Opatów.[72] Among the founding members of the society was a bookbinder called Shabbetai ben Zeʾev Wolf, known as Siaps Introligator (died 1761).[73] In the spring of 1744, the seven- or eight-year-old son of Shabbetai was admitted to membership in the society after his father had paid an appropriate admission fee on his behalf.[74] The boy's name was Yisraʾel; later, he was a student of Shmuʾel Shmelke Horowitz at Sieniawa.[75] Even after he had moved to Kozienice where he became known as a Hasidic leader and *maggid* (preacher), Yisraʾel maintained his membership in the Society of the Eternal Light in Opatów.

Another student of Shmuʾel Shmelke's at Sieniawa was Moshe Yehuda Leib ben Yaʿaqov Sassover. He was born in Brody in about 1745. It was he who first established Beshtian Hasidism in Opatów. He arrived in the town shortly before 1790. There, sponsored by a wealthy member of the community, a

Hasidic prayer hall was founded under Sassover's leadership. Among those who came under his influence was Ya'aqov Yiṣḥaq ben Asher, who had followed his teacher Aryeh Leib ben Ze'ev Wolf Ḥarif when the latter moved from Przedbórz to Opatów to take up the rabbinical position there in 1776 or 1777.[76] Ya'aqov Yiṣḥaq would later become known as *ha-yehudi ha-qadosh,* the holy Jew of Przysucha.

Among the first collectors of traditions concerning Israel Ba'al Shem Tov was Aharon ben Ṣevi Hirsh of Opatów in his *Sefer keter shem ṭov.* The work was published at Żółkiew, the first part in 1794, the second, a year later.[77] Both parts were published again in one volume, without the approbations in the first editions, in Korzec in 1797. Although he wrote in his introduction that he had only collected material,"and I have [myself] written no explanation," a study has shown that the editor's hand was not so restrained.[78] Aharon ben Ṣevi Hirsh was apparently, at some point, rabbi of Zelechów and of Biłgoraj. Three other books of his were published: *Oneg shabbat* (Lwów, 1793); *Keter nahora* (Żytomierz, 1865); and *Or ha-ganuz la-ṣaddiqim* (Żółkiew, 1800). The last was apparently a commentary on the *Tanya,* the magnum opus of Shne'ur Zalman of Liady, founder of Ḥabad Hasidism, and carried the approbation of Yisra'el ben Shabbetai, *maggid* of Kozienice.[79]

In about 1800, Abraham Joshua Heschel arrived in Opatów to take up the position of rabbi of the community. He was a disciple of Elimelekh of Leżajsk, an important Hasidic leader. With the arrival of Heschel, there was no longer a need for a special prayer hall for *ḥassidim,* and it was disestablished. There was, it would appear, also no room for a second Hasidic leader in the town, and Moshe Leib Sassover departed for Jassy. Heschel, though he stayed in Opatów for only about nine years, came to be known as the *Apter rebbe.*[80] Heschel is said to have declared that Opatów was a part of the land of Israel and that its Broad (Jewish) Street was Jerusalem itself. It was for this reason that the Jews' name for the town had always been Apt, the name representing the focus of the divine presence. The basis for this correspondence between Apt and God's presence is numerological. That is, Heschel utilized what was called *gematria,* a technique that assigns significance to the numerical value of each letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The total numerical value of the four-letter name of God (*yod-heh-vav-heh*), which it is forbidden to pronounce, plus the numerical value of its usual vocalized pronunciation (*adonai*), equals ninety-one. And ninety-one is also the value of the letters in the town's name.

6

The Jewish Community

The governing of the community (*qehillah*) by its leaders (*qahal* = kahal) is examined in this chapter. Comparisons with the Christian municipal government are drawn, and the employees and salaried officials and the finances of the Jewish community are looked at. Attention is focused on the place of the Opatów kahal as a strand in the web of Jewish autonomy in Poland-Lithuania.[1]

ELECTIONS AND ELECTED OFFICIALS

The annual election of new elders was held during the intermediate days of Passover in Opatów, as it was in virtually all of the communities of Poland-Lithuania. The notables of the community would gather in the kahal office and refresh themselves with a glass or two of mead.[2] The *shamash* (beadle, *szkolnik*) would place the names of the incumbent officeholders together with the names of the highest taxpayers (those who paid two or more zloties weekly as their *sympla*) in a ballot box. Five names were then drawn out of the box by the *shamash,* one at a time; relatives or business partners of those already drawn were eliminated. These five were then convoked to choose three electors. The electors deliberated in a locked room until they had chosen all of the new officers of the community for the coming year.[3] This procedure was quite similar to the practice in other communities. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the number of enfranchised members—that is, males paying two or more zloties per week *sympla*—was usually between thirty and forty-five, roughly 6 to 10 percent of the adult males. No figures have been preserved for the earlier period.

The *roshim* (three) were the heads, the elders, or the *starszy.* Four or five *ṭovim* (officers) were chosen, and two or three *iqurim* (counselors). The *roshim* and the *ṭovim* virtually always bore the title *moreinu* (our teacher), which re-

flected, at least ostensibly, their high level of learning (the *roshim* are listed in the appendix to this chapter). In one or two notices from the 1780s, the three *roshim* plus six officers called *alufim* (distinguished men), presumably the *ṭovim* and the *iqurim* together, were specified.[4] The position of chairman, called *parnas ha-ḥodesh* or [*p*]*rezydent,* was rotated monthly among the *roshim.* In addition to officers, there were committees of supervisors with various portfolios. These included the following:

—*Baʿalei ḥeshbonot* (bookkeepers): three to five.

—*Gabbaʾei beit kenesset* (synagogue overseers): two to five.

—*Gabbaʾei ereṣ Yisraʾel* (overseers of funds for the land of Israel): two to five.

—*Gabbaʾei pidyon shevuyyim* (overseers of funds for the redemption of captives): four.

—*Gabbaʾei qupah* (overseers of charity collections): three or four.

—*Gabbaʾei ṣedaqah* (overseers of the poorhouse or *heqdesh*): four.

—*Gabbaʾei talmud torah* (overseers of education): four or five.

—*Shammaʾim* (tax assessors): three to six.

There were also three benches, with three judges drawn from five to eight individuals at each level.[5] The archival records provide no useful information about the committees, in fact, usually only the names of the three *roshim* were recorded.

Christian municipal officials included a magistrate and a submagistrate, six judges, and four aldermen. The aldermen rotated, each serving as mayor for one quarter of the year. The magistrate chose a submagistrate and six judges. Elections were held at the end of the first week in January, on the day after the Feast of Three Kings. The participants in the elections were the incumbent officers, the (usually eight) guild masters, and the taxpaying citizens of the city: *advocati, proconsulis, consulum tum quoque antiquorum consulum et omnium cechmaistrorum atque totius communitatis Civitas Magnate Opatoviae.* By the eighteenth century, the latter group included representatives of the kahal. Often, the same person served as magistrate and alderman for many years. Members of certain families, such as Wolski and Opacki, appeared again and again as aldermen or magistrates.[6]

The records of officeholding in the kahal during the first half of the eighteenth century are even more fragmentary than for the second half. Certain families and individuals, however, clearly held office with some frequency, such as Zamojski (1714, 1736), Chęciński (1726, 1727, 1736, 1747), Joseph Dawidowicz (1707, 1710, 1712), and Marek Lewkowicz (1737, 1739).[7] These were all wealthy merchants. But it was the Landau family, the most prominent family in the town, that dominated officeholding. Members of that family held the position of *rosh* during virtually every year for which there are records in the first half of the eighteenth century: 1707, 1712, 1714, 1719,

1720, 1721, 1723, 1724, 1727, 1728, 1730, 1736, 1742, 1747.[8] The entry in the minute book of the kahal recording the results of the elections in 1726 includes the note that Yeḥezqel Segal (ben Ṣevi Hirsh Landau) did not choose that year to "stand on his honor" and declined to be "at the head of the leaders." Nevertheless, because of his standing, he was to feel free to intervene in kahal matters as he pleased.[9]

Those who held the office of *rosh* paid the highest taxes in the community. While the average weekly *sympla* payment between 1760 and 1790 was nineteen groszy, the average payment of the *roshim* during roughly the same period was five zloties, twenty-four groszy—more than nine times the average.[10] Generally, the *roshim* were wealthy merchants rather than *arrendators.* And, although a few occasionally supplied goods for the court of the town owner, none seems to have had sustained and regular contacts with the owner's court.[11]

Of five known cohorts of *roshim* between 1752 and 1760, the fifteen terms of office were served by nine men; of nine cohorts between 1778 and 1788, the twenty-seven terms of office were served by twelve men. And the twenty-three men known to have held the office of *rosh* during the entire period from 1750 through 1790 were members of only fourteen families. Clearly, then, officeholding was confined to a relatively restricted number of families. Nevertheless, there was some rotation, and individuals during this period did not often hold the position of *rosh* for two years in succession.

Holding office in the kahal, however, was not necessarily an indication of real authority, or at least officeholding was not the only criterion of authority in the community. As will be seen in the following chapter, some individuals and families were able to exert influence without holding elected positions in the kahal.

THE TWENTY-ONE MEN

In addition to the kahal officers, there was a broader council referred to variously as the twenty-one men, *yeḥidei segulah, qeruʾei ʿedah, the householders who pay high taxes,* or, *those who belong to the assembly.* Polish documents refer to them as *pospólstwo.*[12] These terms all designated those who paid sufficient taxes to qualify for the kahal but who themselves did not hold office. They were convened when matters affecting the whole of the community were being discussed and legislation of a broad character was being considered.[13] They were also convened to elect delegates to the Council of the Lands. At times, they served as a balancing force, protesting abuses by the elders. Generally, though, there was a commonality of interest among the elders and the twenty-one men. Indeed, it would appear that the elders controlled membership in that group. This is implied in the complaint Isaac Lubelski sent to the town

owner immediately following the elections in the spring of 1777. He protested that he was being systematically excluded, even though he paid two zloties, fifteen groszy weekly, while others who paid less than two zloties were included in the twenty-one men. He added that the three individuals who were responsible for his exclusion claimed that Lubelski was not entitled to participate because he was not a citizen of Opatów. That is, he lacked the right of settlement.[14] It is possible that the elders were trying to force Lubelski to contribute toward the payment of the kahal's debts.

THE VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES

No doubt there were more voluntary societies in Opatów than the two reflected in the surviving records: the Burial Society and the Eternal Light for the Sabbath Society. The Burial Society was of some interest to the town owner because it was a source of income for the kahal. As a result, some fragmentary information was preserved in the archival sources.[15] Excerpts from the minute book of the Eternal Light Society in Opatów were copied and published because they contained information about an important Hasidic *rebbe* who was born in the town: Yisra'el, the *maggid* of Kozienice.[16]

Both of these societies, as was customary, held elections at the same time and after the same fashion as the kahal, during the intermediate days of Passover. The ceremony was held in the synagogue in the presence of the judges of the community. After all the names of the members in good standing were placed in the ballot box, five slips were drawn by the attendant. These were the first electors, called *finivers*. They chose the three secondary electors, whose task it was to select the new officers of the society. It was a particular distinction to be the first drawn of the *finivers*. Traditionally, that man would be honored at the prayer services on the seventh day of Passover, would be called to the Torah, and would receive blessings of *mazal ṭov* from all and sundry.

The Burial Society in the Jewish communities of Poland-Lithuania, and in Ashkenaz in general, was the most prestigious of the voluntary societies. Its officers were usually men who were also, at times, officeholders in the kahal.[17] At one point, in 1769, the town owner required that the kahal electors themselves choose the officers of the Burial Society.[18] This demand, if met at all, was honored only for a few years. By 1775, the Burial Society elections were again held separately.[19]

Members of the Burial Society would gather twice annually to hear a sermon delivered by the communal rabbi, for which he was rewarded with a fixed sum.[20] They probably also had an annual festive meal.

The one detailed surviving financial report of the Burial Society itemizes thirty-four funerals of Opatów householders. The income from the funerals of

children and the expenditures for the burial of "poor foreigners," however, were lumped together. The latter were, presumably, itinerant poor who lacked the "right of residence" in Opatów. Finally, the Burial Society was charged with the maintenance of the cemetery and was expected to contribute surplus funds to the kahal treasury.

The Eternal Light Society was a group that undertook to provide oil for the eternal light, which burned in the synagogue. When the society was formed in 1741, the members agreed to meet each Sabbath to hear lessons from Moshe (ben) Nathan Neta Shapiro in his home.[21] Anyone absent for three of the four Sabbaths in one month would not be called to the Torah during the whole of the next month. This provision indicates that the group met separately for prayers, perhaps in the same R. Shapiro's home, and perhaps for Sabbath afternoon prayers.

There are a few references in the archival sources to elders of the poorhouse-hospital (*starszy szpitalny*).[22] These were instructed by the town owner to keep careful records of income and expenditure and to contribute any surplus to the kahal treasury. While this may have been a separate society, it seems more likely that the elders of the poorhouse were the *gabba'ei ṣedaqah* of the kahal.

SALARIED OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES

In the budgets of the community, after allowance for tax revenues transmitted to outside authorities, expenditures on salaries represented between 8 and almost 14 percent of all other disbursements. In most years, between ten and twelve recipients of salaries were listed (see table 6.1). It is likely, however, that the usual number of people receiving salaries exceeded the average of eleven, which emerges from the figures recorded in the budgets.

For example, in 1728, there were at least four *shamashim* (beadles or syndics), and in 1752, there were five *shamashim* who received full or partial salaries from the kahal. But after 1752, there were never more than two *shamashim* listed in the budgets. Two of the *shamashim* listed in 1752 were attached to particular institutions—one to the cemetery, the other to the poorhouse-hospital. It seems probable that in subsequent years they were paid from other sources. There was also, apparently, a *shamash* of the court, although none of the budgets preserved a reference to payments to such an official. In his instructions in 1745, the town owner noted that he received a complaint to the effect that there was no longer a *sendyk* (*shtadlan,* lobbyist-defense attorney) to attend to and promote the interests of the kahal in the courts and tribunals. His duties, it was said, had been taken over by the *shamash* of the court.[23] Unfortunately, this laconic entry is the sole reference in all the documentation referring to a communal *shtadlan* in Opatów.

The analysis of the number and duties of salaried officials is hampered not

TABLE 6.1 SALARIES PAID BY THE KAHAL, 1728–1789 (ZLOTIES)

Kahal Office	1728	1753	1756	1760	1770	1772	1777	1785	1786	1789
Rabbi	—	—	300	300	300	300	600	600	600	600
Head of the court (*starszy duchowny; rosh beit din*)	—	81	—	—	200	108	156	—	—	156
Cantor	259	175	250	250	225	216	—	150	156	—
Second cantor	213	150	175	175	—	—	—	150	—	—
Preacher	—	—	100	200	200	216	—	150	156	104
Second preacher	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	104	—
Scribe	—	—	28	—	—	120	—	103	—	—
Beadle (*szkolnik, shamash*)	175	208	200	200	200	216	78	200	208	156
Beadle	162	59	55	—	—	216	—	200	208	—
Beadle	107	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Beadle	107	51	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Beadle	—	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Guard	87.5	75	75	75	75	101	175	175	208	52
Guard	87.5	75	75	75	75	101	175	175	—	52
Guard	—	—	—	—	—	18	118	—	52	46
Footman (*pachołek*)	89	—	75	52	75	83	78	—	78	—
Tax collector (*sotnik*)	—	—	—	200	—	208	—	—	78	—
Tax collector	—	—	—	200	—	—	—	—	78	—
Chimney sweep	—	60	—	—	12	12	—	12	—	—

Source: Data based on Arch. Sang., 428, ADO, I/38, I/58, I/74, I/76, I/100, I/102, I/109, I/111, I/112, I/113, I/114, I/117, I/125.
—data not available.

only by the fact that apparently they did not all appear in communal budgets, but also by the fact that their salaries were not paid on a regular basis. Sometimes a year would go by without particular employees being paid at all. In April 1753, the cantor received his salary for the previous twenty months.[24] It is also possible that certain employees received remuneration from sources other than direct disbursements from the kahal treasury. Judges, for example, probably derived their income from court fees and fines, and some of the *shamashim* may have been paid fees for service. The apparent tendency to obscure the number of people receiving salaries may have been due to the oft-expressed interest of the town owner that expenditures in this area be reduced.

In 1796, for example, budget entries under the heading "Salaries" included a note to the effect that the 200-zloty annual salary of the "head of the court" had not been paid at the order of the town owner. The term *head of the court* (*starszy duchowny*) almost certainly meant *rosh beit din,* that is, the head

of the rabbinical court, second to the *av beit din,* or rabbi. In the same list, the entry for the assistant cantor (*podkantor*) was followed by the words "*niemasz i nie potrzebny,*" that is, you don't have one and you don't need one. In 1771, the town owner suggested that the number of *shamashim* could be reduced by having some other poor men perform such services in lieu of the taxes they owed and had not paid.[25] It seems quite likely, therefore, that the actual number of salary recipients frequently exceeded the number recorded in the budgets of the community.

The *shamashim* performed a variety of tasks as messengers, administrators, and executors. Sometimes they were designated by specific titles, indicating that they worked as the *shamash* of the cemetery, of the kahal, of the judges, of the *yeshiva* or synagogue, or of the poorhouse-hospital. One was called *puszkarz,* which meant he collected charitable donations of some sort.[26] Possible uses of such funds include supporting *yeshiva* students and providing dowries for poor brides and clothing for the indigent. The *shamash* of the kahal administered elections and aided in the collection of taxes. the *shamashim* were generally poor and sometimes paid no taxes at all. Of those who did appear on the tax rolls, their weekly payments were very small indeed.[27]

The kahal regularly employed two or more guards. They were to see to it that the streets were kept clean, that the streets were quiet at night, and to watch for fires. Sometimes they escorted elders to protect them on various journeys. Of the six guards during the 1750s and 1760s, not one was listed with a patronymic, and not one appeared on a tax roll during that period. Five appeared in inventories, and of these, four were renting housing. These were Berek, Haim, Mosiek, and Szmerl. The guards, in other words, had distinctively Jewish names.[28]

In the weekly collection of the *sympla,* kahal officials were assisted by tax collectors, designated *sotnik* in the records. Although better paid than the guards, of the few who are known by name—Zelik, Haim, and Borukh—only one appeared on a tax roll. In 1771, Haim paid a six-groszy *sympla* per week.[29] The kahal also employed footmen (*pachołki*)—generally, non-Jews—who helped preserve order during markets and fairs. And, probably more regularly than the records indicate, a chimney sweep was paid a stipend by the kahal in the continuous effort to prevent fires on the Jewish street.

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES

Among the professionals who were at times salaried by the kahal were the scribe, judges, preachers, cantors, and the rabbi. The scribe only occasionally appeared on the list of salary recipients and only rarely was someone designated as scribe in the tax rolls. The office was, nonetheless, important.[30] It

was sometimes combined with the duties of rabbinical judge. For example, during the 1750s and 1760s, a certain Yeḥi'el was *safra ve-dayyana* (scribe and judge) of the community.[31]

While a chief judge (*starszy duchowny* or *rosh beit din*) was occasionally listed among the salaried officials, other judges appeared in such records only in 1752–53, when three were listed as receiving stipends or salaries. Nevertheless, the communal minute book shows five to eight individuals who served as judges at each of the three levels in the three-man courts.[32]

In addition to occasional visits by itinerant preachers, at least one resident preacher usually received a salary. In 1777, the town owner insisted that the preacher be paid only when he preached. In 1759, he agreed that the preacher's salary be increased from two to four zloties weekly, because, "the rabbi had too much work."[33] The best known preachers in Opatów were Nathan Neta Shapiro in the first half of the eighteenth century and Yiṣḥaq ben Ben Ṣiyon in the second half of the century.[34]

In addition to visiting itinerants, there were usually at least two resident cantors.[35] The second was sometimes called *Basist;* he was an undercantor, or assistant cantor. Both received housing allowances as well as salaries. It is striking that, during the eighteenth century, the gap between the salaries of the rabbi and the cantor continually widened, at the expense of the cantor. In the absence, however, of any general research on the status of the cantor in that period, this phenomenon is difficult to evaluate.[36] And it is true that, except for the rabbi, the salaries of virtually all other professionals declined after about 1770. Other income, however, may have compensated for this apparent loss. Virtually all of the professionals also benefited from special payments on holidays, for particular services rendered, for services to individuals and societies, and so on. Such additions to the basic salary were most extensive in the case of the rabbi.[37]

THE RABBI

The chief task of the communal rabbi was to act as supervisor/head of the rabbinical courts. The community actually had several courts: the lay, or kahal, court, and three benches of courts that took decisions on the basis of *halakha* and were graded according to the seriousness of the cases they heard. In most cases, seriousness was determined on the basis of the amount of money involved. The head of the highest court was called *rosh beit din* (*starszy duchowny*); at the end of the seventeenth century that position was held by a certain Menaḥem Mendel, who was also head of the *yeshiva.* In the eighteenth century, however, the rabbis of Opatów were generally also heads of the *yeshiva.*[38]

In addition to supervising the courts and overseeing the *yeshiva,* the rabbi

performed other tasks as well. These derived from the moral authority of his position. Thus, the rabbi oversaw the elections of the kahal, the Burial Society, and perhaps other societies and guilds, as well. He received fees for adding his signature to purchase-of-property agreements, contracts, wills, and other documents. In this way, he functioned as a magistrate-notary and was expected by the town owner to keep careful records. The rabbi administered oaths to taxpayers and tax collectors. He formulated and pronounced bans of excommunication in the synagogue. He officiated at weddings and supervised divorces. The rabbi delivered the traditional two annual sermons on the Sabbath before Passover and on the Sabbath between Rosh Ha-shanah and Yom Kippur. He toured the surrounding villages and townlets subject to the authority of the Opatów kahal, seeing to it that taxes were paid, resolving disagreements, and receiving "gifts." There were set fees and traditional customs regarding virtually all of these duties. He received special payments for his sermons. In the second half of the seventeenth century, for performing a wedding, he was paid a fee equivalent to 1.6 percent of the dowry (one zloty, 18 groszy per 100 zloties). The fee for a divorce was four zloties.[39]

The rabbi's salary was raised in 1745 from three to six zloties per week.[40] In 1777, it was raised again, to twelve zloties per week. In 1777, the rabbi's contract promised him, in addition to his salary, an annual payment of fifteen red zloties (270 zloties); one red zloty when the meat *koróbka* contract was let; free housing including repairs at the community's expense; and one red zloty for each of his two annual sermons. All this was in addition to traditional honors and other income "according to custom."[41]

In 1777, it became necessary to raise the salary of the rabbi in order to attract a candidate of high caliber. When the incumbent, Ḥananiah (Ḥanokh) Lipman ben Eliyahu Meisels, let it be known that at the end of his term he was planning to move elsewhere, a rabbi in Bohemia, Eliᶜezer Ha-qalir, became interested in the position. He wrote to Yeḥezqel Landau in Prague asking him to act as his referee. This was a logical choice, since not only was Landau one of the most influential rabbis of the age, he had been born in Opatów. The reply must have been disconcerting: "I do not advise returning to Poland for the sake of such a middling town (*ᶜir beinonit*). What is more, the rabbi there was without children and had few expenses. As a result, he paid little attention to his income. The people of the community had become accustomed to this, and it will be difficult for the rabbi who takes his place to provide for the needs of his household."[42]

Although Landau went on to say he had no acquaintance with his relatives in Opatów, he clearly had information about the local rabbi. It might be speculated that he wished, for some reason, to dissociate himself from his cousins. In any case, the level of income of the rabbi of Opatów was known in Prague, and must have been known in rabbinical circles in Poland-

Lithuania as well.[43] This may explain why, in 1777, when the writ of appointment of Aryeh Leib ben Ze'ev Wolf Ḥarif was issued, the rabbi's salary was doubled.

The rabbi's salary, however, formed only a portion of the income related to his office. A detailed order, issued in 1789 by the town owner, delimited in some detail the remuneration and fees to which the rabbi was entitled, "higher than which he is not permitted to demand from anyone."[44] The following is a summary of the document's contents:

—From the kahal, in addition to housing, 12 zloties weekly.

—For sermons and supervising kahal elections, 54 zloties.

—A portion of the *sympla* from the surrounding villages and townlets, 144 zloties.

—For overseeing Burial Society elections, 18 zloties.

—For two sermons to the Burial Society, 12 zloties.

—Traditional gift, 14 zloties.

—On *Sukkot* (tabernacles), 9 zloties.

—For an *etrog* (citron), 18 zloties.

—For administering oaths to the butchers and *shoḥetim* (slaughterers), 54 zloties.

—For court cases involving up to 500 zloties, each side, 1 zloty, 8 groszy.

—For court cases involving 500–1,000 zloties, each side, 2 zloties.

—Four court cases involving 1,000 zloties or more, each side, 3 zloties.

—For signing a court judgment or compromise, 1 zloty.

—For formulating judgment on court cases involving up to 500 zloties, 19 groszy.

—For formulating judgment on court cases involving 500–1,000 zloties, 1 zloty.

—For formulating judgment on court cases involving 1,000 or more zloties, 1 zloty, 15 groszy.

—For signing other documents, 1 zloty.

—For supervising divorces of the rich, 18 zloties.

—For supervising divorces of middle-income people, 12 zloties.

—For supervising divorces of the poor, 6 zloties.

—For weddings, for the first 100 zloties of the dowry, 2 zloties; for the second 100, 1 zloty, 6 groszy; for each additional 100, 24 groszy.

—For oaths administered when heirs dispute the maternal or stepmaternal portion[45] of the dowry, for dowries up to 500 zloties, 6 zloties.

—For these oaths for dowries of 500–1,000 zloties, 12 zloties.

—For these oaths for dowries of 1,000–3,000 zloties, 18 zloties.

—For these oaths for dowries of 3,000 zloties or more, 24 zloties.

—For preparing a purchase agreement of a house valued at over 1,000 zloties, 1 zloty.

—For preparing a sale's contract, 15 groszy.

—For witnessing the redemption of pawns, per 100 zloties, 15 groszy.

—Holiday gifts (*kolęda*) from the surroundings and the town were given according to custom.[46]

The text of this document clearly originated in the kahal and was translated and passed on to the town owner so that she could add her authority to it. It is not possible to estimate whether these guidelines were adhered to or how many opportunities the rabbi might typically have had to collect the fees described. It is clear enough, though, that by 1789 the annual income of the rabbi of Opatów was well in excess of 1,000 zloties, in addition to his free housing.[47]

Moreover, remuneration related to his office was not the only source of income for the rabbi during the eighteenth century. During the second half of the seventeenth century, the kahal had demanded that the rabbi not engage in commerce, and moneylending was permitted only at a fixed rate of interest.[48] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, these restrictions had clearly been dropped (see chapter 8 for a discussion of the Landaus). The writ of appointment in 1777 specifically permitted the new rabbi to engage in commerce, wholesale and retail, "as he may wish."[49]

THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE KAHAL

The financial records that form the basis for much of the discussion in this chapter are those prepared by the kahal for the town owner and his officials.[50] These frequently include detailed statements and accounts of income and expenditure. The town owner's interest in the finances of the Jewish community needs no explanation. The income and expenditures of the Christian municipality was only a small fraction of the sums in the custody of the kahal elders. Thus, while the annual income of the kahal ranged from twenty and forty thousand zloties, it was unusual for the Christian municipality to dispose of more than six thousand zloties annually.[51] Unfortunately, source materials that could have provided a basis for a systematic comparison between the kahal and the municipality in this area have not been preserved.

Generally speaking, the kahal's books balanced. That is, annual income was roughly equal to expenditure. The reliability of these data, however, is open to question. The records were, after all, prepared in Polish on the basis of information supplied by the elders of the community. There may well have been matters related to the finances of the kahal that the Jewish leadership did not wish to reveal to the owner of the town. No original financial records from the communal minute books have been preserved. And even if they had

been, the *rachmistrz* (comptroller) employed at times by the town owner to supervise kahal finances was usually a Jew, who would have been able to read the records, if not to control the expenditures.[52] Indeed, the frequently close supervision by the town owner's officials, including Jews, must have assured at least a measure of accuracy in the kahal's bookkeeping but certainly did not guarantee it. There are, for example, a number of items that ought to have appeared in the records but are not to be found. Thus, none of the more or less complete statements of the kahal's income in particular years in the eighteenth century show how much was collected through the sale of residence rights or the bestowal of titles such as *moreinu* (our teacher) or *he-ḥaver* (the fellow). It is known that fees for such titles were introduced at the end of the seventeenth century.[53]

Only eight such budgets show the income from funerals; only two, the income from the sale of pews. And although the expenditures for "gifts," including to the town owner's own officials, were listed regularly, there is no way to be certain that such lists were complete. As noted above, while a detailed month-by-month list of expenditures for 1752–53 shows that the community employed five *shamashim,* the records of only one other year show more than two *shamashim.*[54] The salary of the communal scribe (*sofer*) was recorded only three times, and certain other employees were listed only occasionally. And expenditures for the poor, when there are detailed records, generally exceed the global amounts recorded in the budget statements. Thus, while there are good grounds for not dismissing them out of hand, there are equally good grounds for suspecting that the financial records of the community as they have been preserved are somewhat less than complete.

The Kahal's Income

The kahal's income derived mainly from taxation, both direct and indirect (see table 6.2). The most significant of these taxes was the *sympla* or *sekhum,* which was based on an assessment of the individual's income and property. Next in importance was the tax on the consumption of meat. During the second half of the eighteenth century, there was apparently one year (1758–59) when the *sympla* was not collected, and its place was taken by a tax on commercial profits.

Beginning, apparently, in 1665, "a tax on commerce to the treasury (*króbki* = basket) of the kahal" had been collected from time to time. Both the Polish and Lithuanian councils had called for the establishment of such a *korobka* (or *krupki*) tax during the first half of the seventeenth century.[55] By 1665, it was established in Opatów.[56] It was still being collected during the 1740s but fell into disuse until it was revived in 1758.[57] It was only collected, however, during that one year; subsequent budgets do not show an entry for income from this source.[58] The inability or unwillingness to maintain the collection

TABLE 6.2 SOURCES OF KAHAL INCOME, 1728–1784 (PERCENT)

Source of Income	1728	1752	1759	1769	1776	1784
Property–income tax (*sympla*)	39.0	47.5	46.5	60.6	44.7	26.1
Meat tax	21.3	20.7	18.3	26.0	21.2	21.4
Commerce tax	20.6	—	—	—	—	—
Capitation tax	—	—	2.8	4.2	8.8	5.6
Poultry tax	—	2.1	1.1	2.0	3.5	1.8
Bathhouse fees	—	—	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.4
Animal slaughter	—	0.7	1.0	2.1	2.1	1.4
Dowry tax	—	—	1.0	—	0.4	—
Suburbs tax	—	0.3	1.8	2.9	10.6	6.6
Loans	13.9	14.2	24.4	—	—	5.1
Other	5.2	14.5	1.9	0.6	7.2	30.2[a]

Source: Data based on Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/74, I/79, I/93, I/102, I/109, I/111, I/114.
Note: Figures are rounded to the nearest tenth.
a. *Dymowy* tax: 3.1 percent; escheat ("po zmarłym Rebelli"): 8.3 percent; miscellaneous: 17.7 percent; musicians' tax: 0.2 percent; funerals: 0.9 percent.
—data not available.

of the commerce tax was characteristic of other communities during this period.[59] There is no indication that the distribution of the tax burden was any different when the commerce tax was collected than when the *sympla* regime was in force.[60]

The mainstay, then, of the kahal's income was the *sympla,* which was collected weekly, usually on Fridays. The average payment was thirty groszy (one zloty) per week in 1760, but declined to sixteen to eighteen groszy by 1770. There was considerable inflation during that decade, so the real decline was 50 percent or more. Average payments remained at that level into the 1790s. Total revenues from the *sympla* declined, however, from between 15,000 and 19,000 zloties in the 1760s, to between 10,000 and 14,000 zloties in the 1770s, and to 5,000 to 9,000 zloties in the 1780s and early 1790s. In a clear reflection of the declining economic significance of the town, as well as of its declining population, revenues to the kahal from the *sympla* fell by 52–60 percent, while the number of taxpayers diminished by fourteen–eighteen percent. Total kahal revenues were reduced by about 30 percent during the same period. To a limited extent, the decline in the significance of the *sympla* was offset by increasing revenues from the capitation tax and by the collection of taxes from the increasing numbers of Jews residing in the villages and townlets around Opatów.

The other sources of revenue included a tax on the consumption of poultry,

called the small *korobka*. It usually yielded between 450 and 1,000 zloties, or 1–3.5 percent of total income. In addition, the slaughterers of animals (*shoḥetim*) paid an annual fee to the kahal. Beginning in the 1750s, about 1.5 percent of revenues was derived from bathhouse fees. It was administered by the kahal, and there were regular expenditures for its maintenance. The other regular source of about 1 percent of income was the marketplace scales, also administered by the kahal.

Less regular revenues, at least as reflected in the sources, were provided by a tax of 7–10 percent on dowries, funeral fees, the sale of pews in the synagogue, and in the 1780s, a tax on musicians based apparently on the number of weddings at which they entertained. During the 1770s and 1780s, a separate property tax (*placowy*) was also collected. Some income came to the kahal in the form of interest on loans extended to individual members of the community. Although it seems likely that this was a more or less regular practice, it was clearly reflected in the sources only in 1788–89, when payments on such loans represented roughly 6 percent of communal income: 1,694 zloties.[61] While this raises a significant issue, since it is related to the problem of communal indebtedness, the sources are not sufficiently informative to permit more than this passing reference. What has been preserved reflects a kahal akin much more to a normal municipal government than to a bank or joint stock company.[62]

The Kahal's Expenditures

On average, during the eighteenth century, about 35 percent of expenditures was devoted to taxes (see table 6.3). Generally, more went for national taxes—that is, until 1764, to the region (*galil*) and to the Council of the Lands to defray the crown capitation tax and other expenses—than to the town owner. His share, the so-called *czynsz*, was between 11 and 17 percent of the total, while national taxes amounted to between 13 and 29 percent. After 1764, when the Council of the Lands was disestablished, the burden of national taxes appears to have diminished. In 1769–70, however, about 29 percent of total expenditures went to pay the Opatów community's assessment for the two previous years to liquidate the debts of the region and the council. The assessment for 1766 had been paid.[63] At that time, Opatów was the center for the collection of the capitation tax for the Jews of Małopolska (Little Poland).[64]

The proportion of expenditures devoted directly to the local needs of the community seldom exceeded 12 percent of the total. These local needs included salaries, relief for the poor, the maintenance of communal property, messengers, expenses connected with travel, and so forth (see table 6.4). Poor relief included, in this context, sums for local inhabitants (both Jews and

TABLE 6.3 KAHAL EXPENDITURES, 1728–1784 (PERCENT)

Expenditure	1728	1752–53	1756–58	1760	1769	1783–84	Average
Taxes	36.7	23.6	43.9	42.2	26.5	39.3	35.4
Taxes to estate (*czynsz*)	12.7	10.7	14.3	12.5	12.1	16.8	13.2
National taxes[a]	24.0	12.9	29.6	29.7	14.4	22.5	22.2
Salaries	5.3	6.0	6.3	5.1	6.1	8.9	6.3
Poor	1.7	2.3	1.0	0.6	0.6	1.6	1.3
Expenses and repairs	2.6	17.4[b]	4.5	4.0	0.2	0.6	4.9
Gifts	5.0	10.9	4.1	3.2	3.9	2.4	4.9
Sejmik[c]	8.9	5.0	1.9	0.8	—	3.1	3.3
Debt maintenance	25.8	34.8	33.3	32.3	26.7	18.0[d]	28.5
Armies and extraordinary expenses	2.1	—	0.5	—	7.0	8.5	3.0
Other[e]	11.9	—	4.5	11.8	29.0	2.5	10.0

Source: Data based on Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/75, I/79, I/102, I/109, I/111, I/112, I/114.

Note: Figures are rounded to the nearest tenth.

a. Until 1764, national taxes were apportioned by the Council of the Lands and the *galil*.

b. This figure includes substantial work on the synagogue and the bathhouse.

c. From at least 1754, the *galil* expended 400 zloties annually for "expenses" connected with the *sejmik* in Opatów. Bibl. Oss., ms. 303, p. 222.

d. Plus 15.1 percent for the repayment of capital loans.

e. From 1767 and 1768: "other" included the obligation to pay a share of the cost of liquidating the debts of the *galil* and the Council of the Lands. Halpern, *Pinqas*, no. 83, p. lxxxv.

—data not available.

Christians), for itinerant individuals, and amounts allocated for the poor of the Holy Land.[65] The town owner's instructions often noted that the allocations to the poor were not to be increased from the communal treasury but only through special collections.[66] Nevertheless, the actual amounts expended for this purpose frequently exceeded the sums allocated.

Communal property, which had to be maintained and repaired from time to time, included the synagogues, the bathhouse, the poorhouse-hospital, and the rabbi's house. The community also contributed to expenses related to repairing roads, bridges, and wells in the town. The sort of additional expenses typically incurred can be seen from the following summary of a 1758 list, headed "messengers" (*posłańców*):[67]

—Messenger with interest payments to Sandomierz, 6 zloties, 15 groszy.[68]

TABLE 6.4 KAHAL EXPENDITURES AFTER EXTERNAL TAXES, 1728, 1752, 1769 (ZLOTIES)

Expenditure	1728 Zloties/ Groszy	1728 %	1752 Zloties/ Groszy	1752 %	1769 Zloties/ Groszy	1769 %
Salaries	1,602/23	8.3	1,718/–	8.0	1,982/–	13.7
Poor relief	522/–	2.7	656/–	3.1	200/–	1.4
Expenses and repairs	792/12	4.1	5,051/3	23.6	604/–	0.4
Gifts	1,521/9	7.9	3,166/–	14.8	1,266/–	8.7
Sejmik	2,687/25	14.0	1,446/1	6.8	—	
Debt maintenance	9,300/26	48.4	10,091/15	47.2	8,735/–	60.2
Armies and extraodinary expenses	644/15	3.4	—		2,262/–	15.6
Other	2,144/10	11.2	—		—	
Total	19,211/–		21,415/–		14,505/–	

Source: Data based on Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/102, I/109.
—data not available.

—To Opole with petition, and to have it written, 5 zloties.[69]
—Elders to Opole, where they waited eleven days, expenses, 134 zloties.
—Three elders to Konstantynów for six weeks, and for presents for the treasurer, the captain, the regent, and the syndic of the Land, 589 zloties.[70]
—To the comptroller in Opole and thence to the town owner in Warsaw, to seek relief from interest payments on loans, 39 zloties, 8 groszy.
—An elder to Opole, twice, and expenses for waiting, 114 zloties, 14 groszy.
—To make inquiries in Opole, 10 zloties.
—Elders to Opole for a letter of authorization (*konsens*) for the rabbi, 59 zloties.
—Herszek Wiśnicki for various travel expenses, 18 zloties.[71]
—To Pińczów and Dukla to the marshall and the Land elders regarding taxes, 12 zloties, 16 groszy.[72]
—To find an architect to plan repairs to the synagogue, 8 zloties, 3 groszy.
—To the provost of Raków to ask for a delay in the scheduled interest payment and for a gift, 27 zloties, 20 groszy.[73]
—To the surrounding villages for taxes, 15 zloties, 26 groszy.
—To Tarnów with payment for Haskiel, 6 zloties, 28 groszy.[74]

—The *gubernator*'s expenses for meeting with the *podwojewoda* of Sandomierz in the kahal's interest, 12 zloties, 20 groszy.
—Mead for the Land elders of Pińczów and Nowe Miasto on their way to Konstantynów, 4 zloties.
—To Opole and for waiting for the *pan,* 5 zloties, 6 groszy.
—Letter to Opole, 3 zloties, 20 groszy.
—To find a horse for the marshall (?), 25 groszy.
—To Sandomierz to obtain a court document, 53 zloties.
—To Nowe Miasto with the document, 11 zloties, 7 groszy.
—To Sandomierz, 3 zloties.
—Present for Father Lang, 3 zloties.
—Messengers to Zochcin during the year, 20 zloties, 9 groszy.

The following year, Lubomirski sharply reminded the kahal elders that messengers were expensive. For short trips of a quarter- or a half-mile, beadles could be used.[75] It will be noted that, although "gifts" were generally listed separately, a few appeared on this list.

Kahal budgets, in fact, included the expenditure of significant sums in categories variously designated as gifts, presents, "consolations," and holiday tokens (*podarunki, prezenty, konsolacye, świętalne*). Intended to ensure, in various ways, the peace and security of the community, these fell into three categories: fixed annual payments to local municipal and clerical officials; payments to various individuals connected with keeping the peace during *sejmiki;* and occasional payments to a variety of officials and individuals as the situation demanded. The annual gifts to the clerics of the town, usually on Christmas and Easter and sometimes on other holidays, were regulated by the town owner's officials. The 1758 budget, for example, included the following "Permitted holiday gifts (in accordance with) the instructions of the commissioners." (here paraphrased):[76]

—*Kustosz* (custodian), 22 zloties.
—*Scholastyk,* 22 zloties.
—*Kantor,* 22 zloties.
—*Dziekan,* 90 zloties plus meat.
—*Poddziekan,* 22 zloties.
—*Kaznodzieja* (preacher), 10 zloties.
—*Prokurator,* 20 zloties.
—Vicars (five), 50 zloties.
—*Gwardyany, Kaznodzieje,* 40 zloties.
—Sextons (two), 12 zloties.

In the same year, there were regular gifts to municipal and other officials as follows:

—*Podwojewoda* of Sandomierz, 100 zloties.

—His plenipotentiary, 60 zloties.
—*Gubernator,* 60 zloties.
—Magistrate, 10 zloties.
—The four aldermen (*burmistrzy*), 20 zloties.
—Tax collector, 1 zloty, 20 groszy.
—Court messenger, 1 zloty, 20 groszy.

Both the amounts and the recipients were consistent in the budgets of the 1760s and 1770s, and there were similar expenditures from the beginning of the century to its end.

The expenditures listed above were not precisely bribes in the usual sense of attempts to suborn the judgment of an official or a court to act in a way contrary to the law. The payments were not illegal; indeed, they were regulated by the administration of the town owner. The disbursements should be seen as something akin to a gratuity or a token recognizing the power and influence of the individual in an attempt to cultivate a favorable attitude and to prevent or avoid difficulties. In this sense, they were an acceptable and normal practice. On the other hand, the necessity to make such payments to at least twenty-five individuals makes the exposure and insecurity of the Jewish community manifestly clear.

In addition to the regular annual gifts, the budget of 1758 recorded twenty-one further expenditures arising from particular circumstances. Among the recipients were the town owner's officials, a few of the community's creditors, and Jewish officials of the region and the Council of the Lands (the expenses for messengers also included a substantial amount for both royal and Jewish officials connected with the Council of the Lands):

—Presents for the commissioner and chancellery fees in Opole to obtain permission for a loan, 35 zloties.
—To the Father *prokurator* for a receipt for an interest payment, 8 zloties, 28 groszy.
—To the priest in Raków because of a default on an interest payment, for a present and expenses, 93 zloties, 20 groszy.[77]
—To Pan Jawornicki *possessor,* various gifts, 94 zloties, 27 groszy.
—Present for the new *gubernator,* 16 zloties, 22 groszy.
—To Pan Chomontowski, asked to wait for a loan payment, 14 zloties, 21 groszy.[78]
—Present for the commissioners investigating claims against Sciborowski, 81 zloties, 27 groszy.[79]
—To the commissioners' secretary for transcribing the claims, 38 zloties, 18 groszy.
—To Major Faktor, who negotiated an agreement with the Moszyński family regarding a default on an interest payment, 42 zloties.[80]

—To the Moszyński official who recorded the agreement, 10 zloties, 4 groszy.

—For a "Turkish" hide for *pan* regent in Konstantynów, 25 zloties, 10 groszy.[81]

—For the marshall and the Land elders going to Konstantynów, 8 zloties.

—In Konstantynów, mead for the elders of the Council of the Lands (*ziemskich generalnych*), 10 zloties.

—Wedding gift for the grandson of Rabinowski, 8 zloties.[82]

—Wedding gift for the (son of the?) rabbi of Chęciny, 8 zloties.[83]

—The church *kantor* in Opatów, because of a default on an interest payment, 8 zloties, 6 groszy.

—Presents for *pan* Rozenwald and others investigating the *koróbka,* 29 zloties, 17 groszy.[84]

—Present for the rabbi after obtaining authorization (*konsens*) from the *pan,* 10 zloties, 20 groszy.

—For Lubomirski going to Maleszowa, 44 zloties.

—Present for Lubomirski while in Opatów, 28 zloties.

—Present for Lubomirski in Puławy, 25 zloties, 10 groszy.

The following year, in his instructions, Lubomirski urged that loan and interest payments be made punctually so that expenses for gifts related to defaults could be reduced.[85] In other years, the expenditures on gifts were quite similar to the one presented above. Sometimes, dignitaries or churchmen passing through Opatów were presented with citrus fruit or coffee and sugar, like the two unnamed gentrymen who received coffee and sugar in May 1752. In June of that year, two communal officials were deputized to visit the bishop in Radom to obtain permission for repairs to the synagogue. They presented sugar, coffee, and oranges worth more than ninety-seven zloties to the bishop and his officials.[86]

The fact that the *sejmiki* of the Sandomierz *województwo* met regularly in Opatów was a mixed blessing for the town's inhabitants and, most particularly, for the Jewish community. On the one hand, during such meetings custom increased in the shops, taverns, and inns. On the other hand, violence and brawls were a regular feature of *sejmik* gatherings.[87] Often, the melee began or spread quickly to the Jewish street.[88] The town owner, the Jews, and usually the leaders of the *sejmik* were interested in preventing disturbances of the peace usually provoked by drunken members of the delegates' retinues.[89] The town owners understood the Jews' need to purchase their security during such times. And, Lubomirski, at least, tried to control these expenditures and, perhaps, increase their effectiveness by insisting that the gifts and the cash be channeled to the recipients through the *gubernator.*[90] The amounts

expended for this purpose were sometimes significant, particularly during the first six decades of the eighteenth century. In 1721, the budget noted an expenditure of more than 305 zloties in cash, "in addition to beer, mead, and gun powder."[91] The following year it was announced that, since the servants of the delegates often invaded and robbed Jews during *sejmik* meetings, the Jews, "not because of any compulsion, but freely and with good will," had offered the marshall of the *sejmik* a payment of 40 zloties per meeting. In this way, they hoped to be able to trade freely without their households being disturbed.[92]

It was the practice of the community during those years to distribute cash and gifts of coffee, sugar, citrus fruits, and beverages to delegates in an effort to prevent violence. In 1729, the expenditures for two *sejmiki* were recorded in the communal budget as amounting to 1,309 zloties, "aside from drinks." The drinks amounted to a further 700 zloties during the *sejmiki* and "other meetings."[93] These efforts were not necessarily successful. Brawls and tumults are known to have occurred in 1697, 1727, 1733, and 1754.

The documents seem to indicate that, after 1754, the amounts expended for gifts during sittings of the *sejmiki* diminished rather sharply. This may have been because the community was assisted by the treasury of the region (*galil*). From that year, at least, the budget of the *galil* noted an annual expenditure of 400 zloties for unexplained "expenses" connected with the *sejmik* in Opatów.[94] On the other hand, of course, that expenditure may have represented "lobbying" expenses unrelated to the attempt to forestall violence.

Particularly at the time of the Northern War during the first decade of the eighteenth century, and from the 1760s onward, domestic and foreign troops passed through Opatów. Significant sums were expended to reimburse individuals for their losses.[95]

KAHAL INDEBTEDNESS

The Jewish community of Opatów, like all of the Polish-Lithuanian communal institutions during the eighteenth century, borrowed money, mainly in long-term loans (see table 6.5).[96] There are few records for Opatów indicating the extent of borrowing during the seventeenth century. Elsewhere, the practice began during the first half of the seventeenth century.[97] The credits were extended mainly by noblemen and, to a significantly lesser extent, by burghers. Only a very small proportion of the loans in the seventeenth century came from church institutions.

The tendency to seek credit mainly from noblemen was evident in Opatów at the beginning of the eighteenth century as well.[98] In the course of the century, however, there was a dramatic change. While in 1715, only 16.5 percent of long-term credits came from church institutions, by 1758, more

TABLE 6.5 KAHAL DEBTS, 1715–1790

Year	Debt to *Szlachta*		Debt to the Church		Total	
	Principal (zloties)	Interest (%)	Principal (zloties)	Interest (%)	Principal (zloties)	Payments owed
1715	37,900	10	7,500	7	45,400	4,315
1721	38,990	10	8,500	7	47,490	4,494
1723	47,482	10	8,500	7	55,982	5,343
1728	50,000	10	35,700[a]	7	85,700	7,500
1758	21,000	10	101,900	7	122,900	9,233
1760[b]	21,000	10	123,400	5	144,400	8,270
1769	16,200	10	111,900	5–7[c]	128,900	8,715
1772	15,300	5–7[d]	101,900	3.5	117,200	4,764
1783	—		—		—	4,088
1788	—	—	88,900	3.5	88,900	3,112
1790	—	—	84,250	3.5	84,250	2,949

Source: Data based on Arch. Sang. 428; ADO I/75, I/102, I/108, I/109, I/111, I/112, I/114, II/123.

a. This figure is an estimate.

b. The list for 1759–60 was somewhat anomalous. It was published in Guldon and Krzystanek, "Instruktarz," p. 177.

c. 75,000 @ 7 percent; 36,900 @ 5 percent.

d. 10,500 @ 7 percent; 4,800 @ 5 percent.

—data not available.

than 85 percent of the credits came from that source (table 6.6). These loans had a particular character. The term used to describe them was *wyderkaf*. In this case, the term meant that the principal was loaned "for all time" in return for a relatively low rate of interest and secured by the community as a whole. In this way, the creditors usefully employed their capital and the debtors obtained credits at beneficial terms. The usual rate of interest on loans from noblemen was 10 percent, from churches, 7 percent. Thus, between 1728 and 1758, there was an increase of 185 percent in the credits obtained by the community but an increase of only 23 percent in the amount required annually for the servicing of the debt.

In most years, nevertheless, the interest payments were not met fully. When they could not be met, negotiations with the creditor were necessary, or the intercession of the town owner was sought. For example, in 1758, apparently in the aftermath of the fire of 1757, the town owner interceded, and as a result, the rate of interest on loans from church institutions was temporarily reduced to 5 percent.[99] By the end of the 1760s, however, the community was failing, on a large scale, to meet its obligations. In 1770, of

TABLE 6.6 CHURCH CREDITORS OF THE KAHAL, 1758–1788 (ZLOTIES)

Creditor	Principal in 1758	Principal in 1788
Kapitula Opatowska[a,b]	10,000	10,000
Kapitula Opatowska[a,c]	3,000	3,000
Bernardynów, Opatów[a]	3,500	3,500
Wikaria Opatowska[a,c]	1,000	1,000
Kapitula Sandomierska[a,c]	20,000	21,000
Kościół Św. Pawła, Sandomierz[a,c]	3,000	3,000
Kapitola Mniejsza Kielecka[a]	5,000	5,000
Kościół Bogoryjski[a,c]	1,000	1,000
Kościół Borzecki[c]	1,750	1,750
Kościół Ćmielowski[a]	6,000	6,000
Kościół Denkowski	4,150	4,150
Kościół Dzikowski[a,d]	2,000	—
Kościół Jeźowski[a]	6,000	—
Kościół Lagowski[a]	4,000	4,000
Kościół Rakowski[a]	6,000	15,000
Kościół Skrzyński[a]	2,500	2,500
Kościół Słupski[a]	1,000	1,000
Kościół Szewiński[a,c]	4,000	4,000
Kościół Świętomarski	2,000	2,000
Kościół Wzdolski	6,000	—
Misjonarze Brzozowscy	10,000	—

Source: Data based on ADO, I/75, I/109, I/112, I/114, I/117.
a. Appeared as a creditor in 1752. ADO, I/109.
b. Appeared as a creditor in 1720. ADO, I/108.
c. Appeared as a creditor in 1729. Arch. Sang., 428.
d. Appeared as a creditor in 1783–84.

twenty-three loans from church institutions, full payments of the interest due were made on only three, partial payments on thirteen, and next to five others one finds the word *niepłacili* (they did not pay); see table 6.7. In all, only about 57 percent of the total debt maintenance obligations was met.[100] As a result of this crisis, the rates of interest were renegotiated on all of the community's loans. In 1772, the interest rate was 5–7 percent on loans from noblemen, and only 3.5 percent on loans from church institutions. And, even then, only about 75 percent of the total payments due were actually made.[101] The lower rates remained in force until the 1790s.[102] While long-term credits from noblemen became insignificant, the *szlachta* remained a source of short-term capital loans.

TABLE 6.7 CHURCH AND *SZLACHTA* CREDITORS OF THE KAHAL, 1770 AND 1772 (ZLOTIES)

Creditors	1770			1772		
	Principal	Interest Due	Interest Paid	Principal	Interest Due	Interest Paid
Church						
Kapitula Opatowska	10,000	700/–	508/–	10,000	350/–	350/–
Kapitula Opatowska	3,000	210/–	148/–	3,000	51/15	51/15
Bernardynów, Opatów	3,500	245/–	245/–	3,500	245/–	245/–
Wikaria Opatowska	1,000	70/–	—	1,000	35/–	35/–
Kapitula Sandomierska	20,000	1,400/–	1,140/12	10,000	366/20	366/20
Kościół Św. Pawła, Sandomierz	3,000	210/–	180/17	3,000	105/–	105/–
Radwanski Oficjal, Sandomierz	7,000	490/–	316/17	—	—	—
Kapitula Mniejsa Kielecka	5,000	350/–	141/16	5,000	175/–	175/–
Kościół Bogoryjski	1,000	50/–	40/–	1,000	35/–	35/–
Kościół Borzecki	1,750	87/15	[a]	1,750	61/7	0
KościółĆmielowski	6,000	300/15	150/–	6,000	210/–	210/–
Kościół Denkowski	4,150	207/15	26/–	4,150	72/75	0
Kościół Dzikowski	2,000	140/–	[a]	2,000	70/–	0
Kościół Jeżowski	6,000	360/– [b]	[a]	6,000	420/–	210/–
Kościół Lagowski	4,000	200/–	20/–	4,000	140/–	140/–
Kościół Rakowski	6,000	300/–	193/13	13,000	455/–	455/–
Kościół Rozwodowski	3,000	210/–	63/–	3,000	105/–	0
Kościół Skrzyński	2,500	175/–	63/10	2,500	87/15	87/15
Kościół Słupski	1,000	50/–	54/– [c]	1,000	35/–	35/–
Kościół Szewiński	4,000	200/–	[a]	4,000	140/–	28/–
Kościół Świętomarski	2,000	140/–	100/–	2,000	70/–	70/–
Kościół Wzdolski	6,000	300/–	300/–	6,000	210/–	210/–
Misjonarze Brzozowscy	10,000	700/–	[a]	10,000	350/–	0
Total	111,900	7,095/–	3,689/–	101,900	3,789/12	2,808/20
Szlachta						
Bidziński	1,800	90/–	144/– [c]	1,800	90/–	40/–
Kossowski	2,000	140/–	[a]	2,000	140/–	0
Leżnicki	2,000	140/–	306/– [c]	2,000	140/–	126/–
Padlewski	3,000	150/–	[a]	3,000	150/–	150/–
Rychlewski	6,500	455/–	427/–	6,500	455/–	455/–
Total	15,300	975/–	877/–	15,300	975/–	771/–
Totals	**127,200**	**8,070/–**	**4,566/8**	**117,200**	**4,764/12**	**3,579/20**

Source: Data based on ADO, I/38, I/102.

a. Not paid.

b. Half @ 7%, half @ 5%.

c. Included payment on arrears.

—data not available.

In any consideration of the loans from church institutions, the nature of these credits must be stressed. There was no expectation that the principal would be repaid. Of twenty-one such loans in 1758, sixteen originated before 1753, and interest on seventeen was still being paid in 1788. The Jewish community appeared to be a secure institution in which to invest capital, which would thereby be put to use and yield a continuing return. Most of the time the debts were serviced by the yield from the tax on meat. These loans put significant amounts of capital in the hands of the community. Sometimes, as mentioned above, the capital was used as a source of income, with the kahal providing credits to individuals, presumably at a rate higher than it was paying on the loans. Moreover, although it was not reflected directly in any Jewish source, there can be no doubt that the fear of losing their investments contributed substantially to the extent of protection extended to Jews by both clergy and nobility.[103] Toward the end of the century there was pressure from the town owner to reduce the level of indebtedness, and indeed, the principal owed did diminish steadily from 1760.[104] Moreover, the demands on the community arising from the dissolution of the Council of the Lands and the liquidation of its debts were a further incentive for the kahal to reduce its own obligations.

Although there were occasional defaults on interest payments, and some taxpayers failed to meet their obligations, for most of the century, generally speaking, the financial management of the kahal was reasonably successful in keeping its accounts balanced (table 6.8). What is most striking is the decline in *both* income and expenditure from the end of the sixties of the eighteenth century. This decline becomes even more dramatic when it is recalled that inflation had led to a series of currency devaluations in that decade.[105] Further, by the 1780s, the proportion of income represented by uncollected taxes had reached unprecedented heights. The total income listed in the kahal's records for 1787–88, for example, was 27,274 zloties. Fully 44 percent of this, however, consisted of taxes in arrears from previous years, extending back to the beginning of the decade. In 1760 this proportion had been 18 percent, in 1771–72, 10 percent.[106] Moreover, the average tax payment by individuals fell from 1 zloty in 1760 to 19 groszy in the 1770s.[107] All these are more indications of the progressive economic and demographic decline of the community during the last third of the century.

OPATÓW AS A STRAND IN THE WEB OF JEWISH AUTONOMY

The autonomous organization of the Jews in Poland included the national Council of the Lands, perhaps land (*ereṣ* or *medinah*) councils, and regional

TABLE 6.8 KAHAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURES, 1721–1787 (ZLOTIES)

	Income		Expenditure		
Year	*Sympla*	Total	External Taxes	Total	Balance
1721	19,615	34,786	—	—	
1728	11,734	30,125	11,120	30,331	−206
1752	14,138	29,745	7,583	29,258	487
1756	—	—	—	24,442	
1757	—	—	12,839	28,930	
1758	19,000[a]	—	12,415	29,550	
1759	19,106	41,060	13,375	31,679	9,381
1760	18,956	—	—	—	
1769	17,500	28,900	—	32,673	−3,773
1771	11,462	26,169	—	—	
1776	12,639	28,305	—	—	
1783	—	—	—	22,687	
1784	7,340	28,088	—	—	
1787	3,150	15,066[b]	—	14,571	495

Source: Data based on Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/74, I/75, I/79, I/93, I/102, I/109, I/111–I/114.

a. From tax on commerce.

b. Plus 12,208 zloties for taxes in arrears for previous years.

—data not available.

councils.[108] The regions were divided further into districts, and individual communities governed the small settlements in their surroundings.

According to a ruling of the Council of the Lands enacted in 1692, "villages and townlets that lack their own synagogue and are no more than two miles distant from a leading community belong to that community and are subject to it in all matters related to taxes and other interests."[109] The elders of the community of Opatów thus governed not only the Jewish residents of the town itself but those in the daughter settlements as well. These Jews were dependent on the metropolis for various requirements, such as synagogue holiday services, the cemetery for burial, and the judiciary. In return, they paid taxes to the Opatów kahal. The number of Jews and the number of settlements in which they lived grew rapidly in the course of the second half of the century. In 1764, they were to be found in thirty-seven villages; by 1787, there were Jews in fifty-six of the villages around the town.[110] These were mainly individual families headed by innkeepers or distillers. The grow-

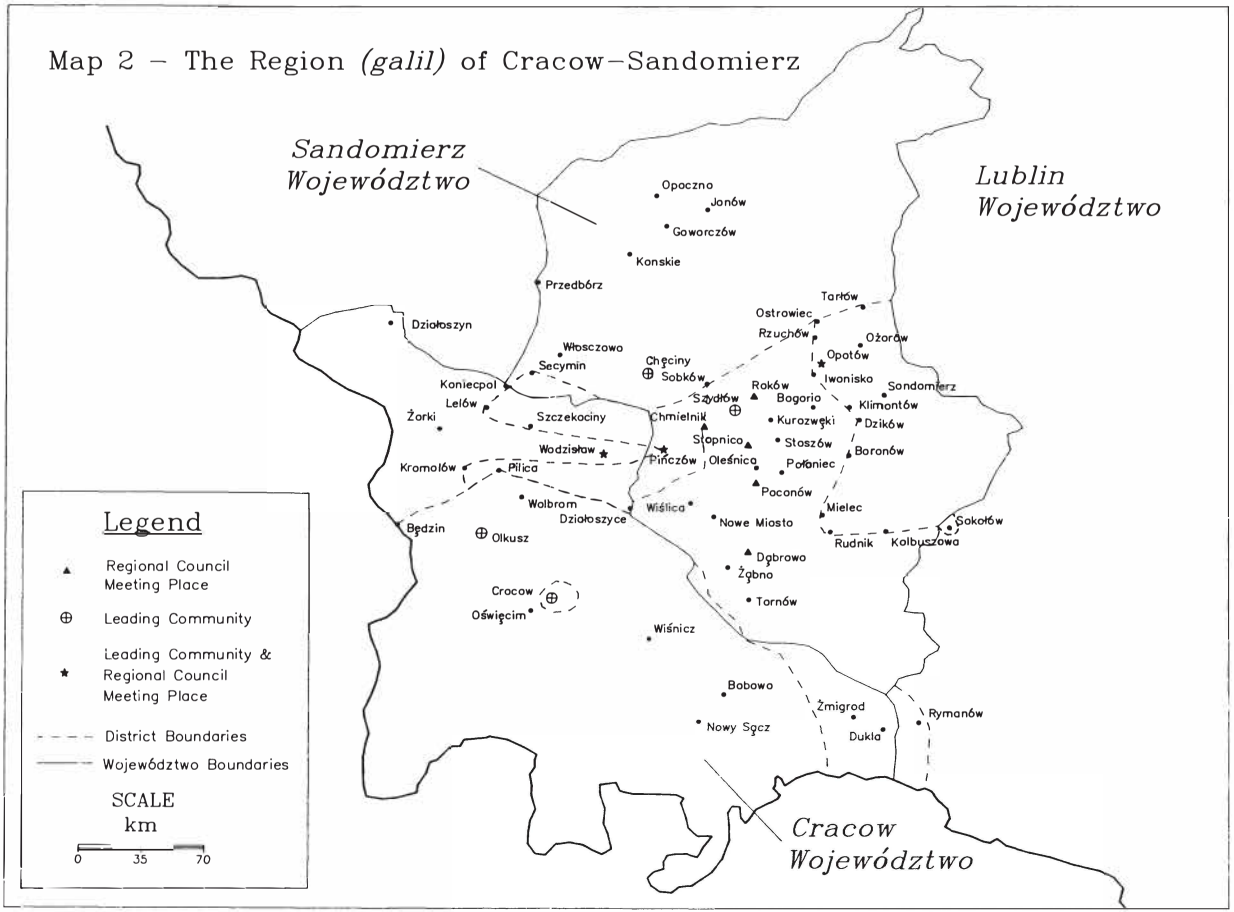
ing importance of tax revenues provided by the surrounding settlements has already been noted. It should be added that the arrival of several hundred village Jews for the holidays must have had a stimulating effect on the town's economy in general.[111]

Opatów stood at the head of one of the six districts (in addition to the city of Cracow, which was independent) in the region of Cracow-Sandomierz (map 2).[112] In 1754 there were fourteen communities in the district of Opatów. The others were: Baranów, Dzików, Iwaniska, Klimontów, Kolbuszowa, Mielec, Ostrowiec, Ożarów, Rudnik, Rzuchów, Sandomierz, Sokołów, and Tarłów.[113] Each of these communities governed its own settlements. Opatów's relationship to them as the leading community of the district seems to have been mainly as the seat of an appellate court for those communities.

The privilege of the Jewish community in Tarłów, preserved in two versions (1675, 1752), prescribes that legal cases between Jews and Christian burghers would be heard in the court of the defendant, that appeals would be heard by the town owner, and that appeals of cases between Jews belonged to the competence of the Jewish elders of the district of Opatów. The procedure was the same in Tarnobrzeg (Dzików).[114] In addition to being the seat of an appellate court, it may be that the leading community also had some particular influence over the apportionment of taxes among the communities of its district. Thus in 1734, Pawel Karol Sanguszko took up the claim of the Jewish community of Kolbuszowa that its tax assessment was excessive. He addressed his protest to the elders of the region and to the elders of the kahal of Opatów.[115]

In addition, although it is difficult to determine with any certainty because of the fragmentary state of the records, it would appear that delegates to the Council of the Lands were drawn almost exclusively from the leading communities of the districts. Between 1627 and 1764, of seventy-five representatives from the region, aside from Cracow-Kazimierz, who appeared in the surviving records of the Council of the Lands, fifty-nine came from the leading communities. And, of these, Opatów (twenty-three) and Pińczów (eighteen) were represented much more often than others.[116] Probably the officers of the region were also drawn from these same leading communities. As will be seen below, however, the Landau family was a dominant presence in the region and was represented on the council of the *galil* virtually continuously from the end of the seventeenth century to the 1760s.

The officers of the *galil* included a marshall or chairman, the chief rabbi, elders, district elders (*starsi podziemscy*), a lobbyist (*syndicus, shtadlan*), trustees, a secretary, and a comptroller, as well as tax collectors and *shamashim*.[117] The senior officers received expenses for each meeting of the regional council they attended and, presumably, for attending meetings of the Council of the Lands. In Opatów at least, the elders of the *galil* were not only exempt from



Map 2. The Region (*galil*) of Cracow-Sandomierz

the capitation tax, "in accordance with the Jewish constitution," but also from the tax on commerce.[118] The *galil* council met in various communities, including Pacanów, Chmielnik, Raków, Pińczów, Wodzisław, Dąbrowa, Stopnica, and, occasionally, Opatów.[119] Sometime after 1723, the records and accounts of the *galil* began to be kept in Pińczów; before that time they had apparently been kept at Opatów.[120] This probably reflects the growing importance of the former community.

Like the Council of the Lands, a principle task of the *galil* council was the apportionment of the tax burden among its constituent units. It also addressed matters of collective interest, resolved disputes between communities, and granted its imprimatur to scholarly books.[121] In 1721, for example, the *galil* council met at Raków and adopted legislation to the effect that, henceforth, anyone wishing to sell a house or a pew had to announce his intention three times in the synagogue. In this way, his creditors would be able to come forward and seek their due. This decision of the council was to be announced in all the towns of the *galil*.[122]

In 1749, the *arrendators* and innkeepers of the settlements around Tarłów protested that they no longer wished to be subject to the kahal of Tarłów.[123] Representatives of both sides appeared before the elders of the *galil* in Opatów: Binyamin Wolf Landau and his brother, Yosef Landau. The villagers no longer wanted to pay the national capitation tax through Tarłów, wishing rather "to be detached from the town of Tarłów and to be placed under a different jurisdiction."[124] The kahal of Tarłów, for its part, presented documents and records of the Council of the Lands that indicated precisely which villages belonged to their jurisdiction. The elders of the *galil* found these documents to be authentic and legitimate and ruled that the villages would continue to belong to Tarłów. This meant not only that they paid their taxes through that kahal but also that they must bury their dead there, circumcise their sons there, have their cattle slaughtered by a *shoḥet* in Tarłów, and have their weddings performed by the rabbi of Tarłów. This decision is followed by a list of nineteen villages and one town (Lasocin) belonging to Tarłów.[125]

The Council of the Lands was established in the second half of the sixteenth century. In a sense, its structure might be described as a bicameral parliament, consisting of a rabbinic chamber, which also functioned as an appellate court, and a lay assembly. Laymen and rabbis from Opatów are known to have attended twenty-three meetings of the council from the beginning of the seventeenth century until its disestablishment in 1764.[126] The records, however, are quite fragmentary. On the basis of archival sources, it appears that elders of the kahal attended many more meetings, perhaps as observers. Entries in the surviving communal budgets of 1752 and 1756 through 1760 indicate that expenses were paid for one or more elders to go to Konstantynów, the meeting place of the Council of the Lands at that time.[127]

The community's interest in having delegates or observers at the meetings of the Council of the Lands as well as of the council of the *galil* was, first and foremost, to see to it that its portion of the tax burden was kept as low as possible. For this purpose also, gifts and presents undoubtedly were distributed to both the Jewish officials of the *galil* and the Council of the Lands and to representatives of the crown treasury who attended such meetings.[128] The practice of distributing gifts to the elders of the councils was condemned by rabbi Berakhiah Berakh, one-time rabbi of Klimontów. In a book published in 1735, he wrote that he had seen some elders and rabbis of regions accepting gifts from the delegates of various communities attending meetings of the councils. In return, the elders sent word to the assessors who evaluated each community to lighten the burden of those who had brought gifts and to increase the taxes of those communities that had not. For this reason, the council should be labeled not *vaʿad qodesh* (holy council) but *vaʿad qadesh* (prostituted council). "I have seen with my own eyes, in one particular region, that some of the communities send their delegates to the meetings for the apportionment of taxes with several gold coins to give to a *yeshiva* head, who is a powerful leader [*taqif*], and who has relatives among the assessors, and who can indicate to them that they should reduce the [tax] burden of [those communities]."[129] Since Klimontów was part of the region of Cracow-Sandomierz, and one of the communities in the Opatów district, the family mentioned could have been the Landaus.[130]

Another means to reduce the community's tax burden was utilized particularly by residents of private towns. The influence of the town owner could be brought into play, since his or her interest would also be served if the flow of capital out of town was reduced.[131] Sanguszko recognized the usefulness of sending representatives to meetings of the Council of the Lands and explicitly authorized the practice in 1745.[132] In 1757, the kahal complained to Lubomirski that the capitation tax portion of the community, apportioned by the *galil* council, was excessive. In his response, the town owner said he had written earlier to the crown treasury on this subject and would protest again that there had been no alleviation of the burden imposed on the Jews of Opatów.[133]

The result was two strongly worded letters to the marshall of the *galil* of Cracow-Sandomierz, Marek Dukielski. One was from Karol Odrowąż Sedlnicki, crown treasurer, and the other was from S. U. W. Płoszczyński, regent of the crown treasury.[134] Both letters were dated at Konstantynów, March 10, 1758. The crown treasurer's letter was briefer and demanded that the elders of the *galil* not dare collect unauthorized assessments, particularly from Opatów. Płoszczyński went on at greater length. After noting that it would be difficult to exaggerate the severity of the complaints of "various lords" about the misrule of the *galil,* he noted that the *wojewoda* of Lublin

(Lubomirski) had stressed to him that there was an agreement to the effect that the Jews of Opatów would pay no more than one-tenth of the taxes and expenses of the region.[135] The results of these interventions are not clear. In the partial records of the assessment of the communities of the Cracow-Sandomierz region in 1753–54, however, Opatów's portion had indeed been roughly 10 percent of the total.[136] And, it appears that the community's payments of the capitation tax were reduced by about 400 zloties between 1757 and 1758.[137]

Throughout the eighteenth century, the representatives of Opatów on the regional council and on the Council of the Lands tended to be members of one family, the Landaus. The Landaus also frequently held office in the kahal of Opatów. As will be seen in the following chapter, however, even when they did not hold office, they tended to dominate communal affairs.

APPENDIX: ELECTED KAHAL HEADS (ROSHIM), 1752–1790

Name	Occupation	Years of Officeholding	Average Weekly Tax
1752–60			
Nosson zięć Avigdor	Merchant	1752	4/–
Marek Krakowski	Merchant (Frankfortski)	1752, 1757, 1759	13/–
Dawid Lewkowicz	—	1752, 1753	2/24
Józef Hasklewicz	Merchant, rabbi	1753, 1767	6/14
Zelman zięć Chęciński	*Arrendator,* merchant	1755, 1756	3/7
Lewek Golda	Merchant	1757	—
Jasek Poznański	Merchant	1757, 1759	4/6
Avigdor Jeremiaszowicz	Merchant	1758, 1760	1/6
Binyamin Wulf Hasklewicz	Merchant, rabbi	1758, 1760	3/24
Dawid Chęciński	Merchant	1758, 1760	21/–
Szaja Jakubowicz	*Arrendator,* merchant	1759	13/–
1770–88			
Berek Golda	Merchant	1770, 1778, 1784, 1785	4/15
Ḥayyim Leyzorowicz	Merchant	1770, 1778, 1783, 1787, 1788	3/20
Lewek Futernik	Furrier	1775	10/–
Wolf Golda	Merchant	1775	8/11
Daniel of Działoszyn	Merchant	1776, 1784, 1785	—
Moszko Chęciński	Merchant, *arrendator*	1777, 1778	7/3
Eliezer Liberman	—	1777, 1778, 1786	1/21

Szmul Lewkowicz	—	1781	3/23
Michl zięć Krakowski	Merchant	1781, 1783, 1787, 1788	3/26
Mendel Aronowicz	—	1782	1/23
Jakub Lewkowicz	Furrier, hatmaker	1784	1/28
David of Leżajsk	—	1784	—

Source: Data based on ADO, I/71, I/74, I/79, I/91, I/102, I/103, I/109, I/111, I/114, I/115, I/122, I/125; Arch. G., 246; Nahum Sokolow collection.

Note: Avigdor Jeremiaszowicz was active from at least 1728. He had business dealings with Icek Golda. In 1756, he held the meat *korobka* with Binyamin Wulf Hasklewicz. Akty Sang., 12/16; ADO, I/114. Binyamin Wulf Hasklewicz is Binyamin Wulf ben Yeḥezqel Landau, rabbi of Krzeszów. See chapter 7. Dawid Chęciński was one of the wealthiest members of the community. His son signed Moshe ben David ha-kohen Rapoport. He was also an elder in 1726, 1727, and 1730s, 1745, 1747. ADO, I/91. Jasek Poznański sometimes sold textiles to the town owner's court. ADO, I/88. Jósef Hasklewicz is Yosef ben Yeḥezqel Landau, rabbi of the *kloiz* in Opatów. See chapter 7. In 1736, Lewek Golda supplied gold and silver galloon valued at 216.5 tynf and a small quantity of taffeta (*kitaj*) to Sanguszko. See chapter 3. Compare Arch. Sang., 441; ADO, I/122. "Zięć" means "son-in-law." In 1771–72, Zelman Chęciński held the *arenda* on distilling in Opatów. His wife, Shaindl, daughter of Dawid Chęciński, took an active part in the business. ADO, I/28, I/91. Berek Golda was the son of Lewek Golda. He was one of two representatives of the community at a meeting of the Council of the Lands in Konstantynów in 1757. ADO, I/111. Eliezer Liberman also served as elder in 1798. Ḥayyim Leyzorowicz was an *aluf* in 1785. ADO, I/103. Jakub Lewkowicz, son of Lewek Futernik, was an officer of the guild of hatmakers (*hitlmakhers*). ADO, I/122. By 1760, Michl Krakowski was one of the most prominent merchants, sometimes dealing in expensive imported fabrics. ADO, I/61, I/125. Moszko Cheçiński, the son of Dawid Chęciński, was a very wealthy merchant, who held the general liquor *arenda* contract in 1765–67. He seems also to have been involved in the fur trade. ADO, I/91; Arch. K. 1594, 1604. Szmul Lewkowicz held the *arenda* on the meat *korobka*, 1786–89. ADO, I/91. In 1775, Wolf Golda was an elder in the Burial Society, along with Moshe ben Elyaqim and Sha'ul ben Yosef (Jasek) Poznański. ADO, I/122.

—data not available.

7

Authority in the Jewish Community

In eighteenth-century society, questions of honor and deference were a central preoccupation shared alike by Jews and non-Jews.[1] This focus on social status was made visible in civic and religious rituals, in public office and behavior, in dress and occupation. A strict formality, which concretized distinctions in rank and status, governed behavior in many dimensions of social and religious life. A highly refined tension surrounded these matters, and when a breach was perceived, it sometimes led to prolonged feuding and even to violence. Such disputes generally flowed from differences over nice distinctions in the social hierarchy. While there was tension *between* social classes, this chapter focuses mainly on the ruling group of Jewish society and on the struggle *within* it for power, authority, and status.

The ceremonies of religious life in general, and the synagogue in particular, provided many an occasion for the playing out of the fine distinctions in social standing. Who would lead the first procession on *Sukkot* (Tabernacles) or *Simḥat Torah* (the day of rejoicing in the Torah); who would read the Book of Jonah on the afternoon of the Day of Atonement, and to whom would the shoḥet come first with his chickens on its eve? All the "honors" of the synagogue, such as being called to the Torah scroll as it was read, were the subject of competition, but one generally knew one's place. The playing out of these distinctions was, after all, also a form of social control—it kept people in their place. There were also social rituals that served to reflect gradations of status: who visited whom on the Sabbath and festivals, who received which gifts on special occasions, and so forth. It was precisely in the gray areas, on the cusps of the higher status groupings, among people of roughly equal social status, that difficulties arose.

The death of a notable also provided the occasion for concretizing in various ways his or her status. An elaborate funeral, an effusive eulogy, a hyperbolic epitaph all served as indicators of the station of the deceased. In addi-

tion, a mantle for a Torah scroll or a curtain for the Torah ark woven of fine fabrics and inscribed with the name of the departed and of the donor might be donated to the synagogue. When the curtain was used on holidays or on the Sabbath, it would serve as a vivid illustration and reminder of the status of the family concerned.

The superiority of the wealthy and learned was taken for granted in Jewish society and was part of the order of things. Generally speaking, the system worked, and there seems not to have been much resentment on the part of the "silent democracy" against the "speaking aristocracy." These terms, employed by Perry Miller to describe Puritan society, are surprisingly apt here.[2] The term *democracy* is used here not in a constitutional sense but in the sense that even the according of deference involves a measure of choice. The constant reenactment of the rituals reinforcing hierarchical distinctions was not always sufficient to maintain social control and social peace. When the system did break down and conflicts arose between rich and poor, learned and ignorant, merchant and artisan, the aristocracy had other means to exert its will. These included patronage, taxation, and access to the center of power represented by the town owner.

Particularly during the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century, a kind of Polish-Lithuanian Jewish aristocracy existed. Members of a relatively small number of families held an astonishing number of rabbinical and communal offices. Among these families were the Ginzburgs, Heilperins, Horowitzs, Rapoports, and Katzenellenbogens. In the middle of the eighteenth century, as Benzion Dinur has noted, there were in Poland about fifteen rabbis, ten leaders of the Council of the Lands, and several judges and heads of *yeshivas* from the Heilperin family.[3] During the same period, the Landau family included rabbis in at least twenty communities, elders of the regions of Cracow-Sandomierz and Lwów, and leaders of a number of individual communities (figure 1).[4] In Opatów, the members of the Landau family were the most influential members of the community from the last decades of the seventeenth century until about 1780.

During those nine decades, it was unusual if at least one member of the family was not an elder in the community.[5] Thus, when in 1726, Yeḥezqel ben Ṣevi Hirsh Landau declined to accept a position in the kahal, this was noted in the communal minute book in the following language: "His honor the rabbi, our teacher, Yeḥezqel Segal [Landau] has declined the honor which is his due [*maḥal ʿal kevodo*] and does not wish to be chief among the leaders at this time. [Nevertheless, he retains] the right of leadership in all matters great and small, sacred [and profane]."[6] Communal officeholding was not the source of the Landaus' authority; rather, the reverse was the case: the Landaus held office because of their authority. This authority derived from their lineage, their learning, and their wealth. And these entitled them to office on

the communal, regional, and interregional level. These positions, together with their wealth, gave them access to the powerful magnates who owned or governed the towns in which the Landaus lived.

THE LANDAUS OF OPATÓW

The pedigree of the Landaus went back to prominent rabbis in the late Middle Ages in Italian and German lands (see figure 1).[7] Yequti'el Landau (died 1561) was the rabbi of Prague; his son Moshe (died 1567) was a renowned rabbinic figure in Cracow and associated with Moses Isserles. It is not clear when the first members of the family appeared in Opatów, but it certainly was not later than the first decades of the second half of the seventeenth century when a certain Binyamin Wolf Landau is known to have lived there. His son, Yeḥezqel, was a judge and, possibly, head of the *yeshiva*. Yeḥezqel's wife was Witta, daughter of Yiṣḥaq ben Ze'ev Ḥarif (died 1682), who was the communal rabbi in Opatów between about 1668 and 1673; he subsequently accepted a similar position in Cracow. Yeḥezqel was a merchant and attended the Leipzig fair in 1680.[8] In 1683 he "farmed" the kahal commerce tax together with two other partners.[9] By 1692, he was dead, leaving three sons and at least one daughter. These were Yosef, Ṣevi Hirsh, Binyamin Wolf, and Rekhl or Rekhish.

Yosef died by drowning, childless and apparently still young, in 1714 or early 1715. According to the court testimony of his siblings, he left a fortune of "no more than 30,000 zloties,"[10] of which, they maintained, only 6,000 zloties would be left for his widow, Priva, daughter of Nathan ben Yiṣḥaq of Przemyśl, after all his creditors had been paid. In 1694 and 1696, Yosef had held relatively minor offices in the kahal.[11] His siblings said that before his death he had been planning to move to Jerusalem and had received permission to do so from the town owner.[12]

Binyamin Wolf was probably the Wolf son of "Y," who was listed first among the three electors of the kahal in 1694.[13] He subsequently moved to Tarnów, where he founded a dynasty of rabbis and elders. Rekhl married Nathan Neta Shapiro, who was descended from a line of important rabbis. Nathan, or Note, was a merchant; in 1721, he was to be found residing in a brick house together with his wife's nephew, Yehuda, son of Ṣevi Hirsh.[14]

Ṣevi Hirsh (died 1715) was frequently an elder of the community and of the *galil*. He attended at least four meetings of the Council of the Lands.[15] His wife was Sarah, the daughter of Dr. Naftali Hirsh Oettinger of Przemyśl. Ṣevi Hirsh was known as Hirsh Wittes, or Witshes, after his mother. He knew enough Polish to translate documents from Hebrew and Yiddish for the town owner's court.[16] The two generations of Landaus following Sevi Hirsh took the family to the summit of its influence in Opatów, in particular, and in east

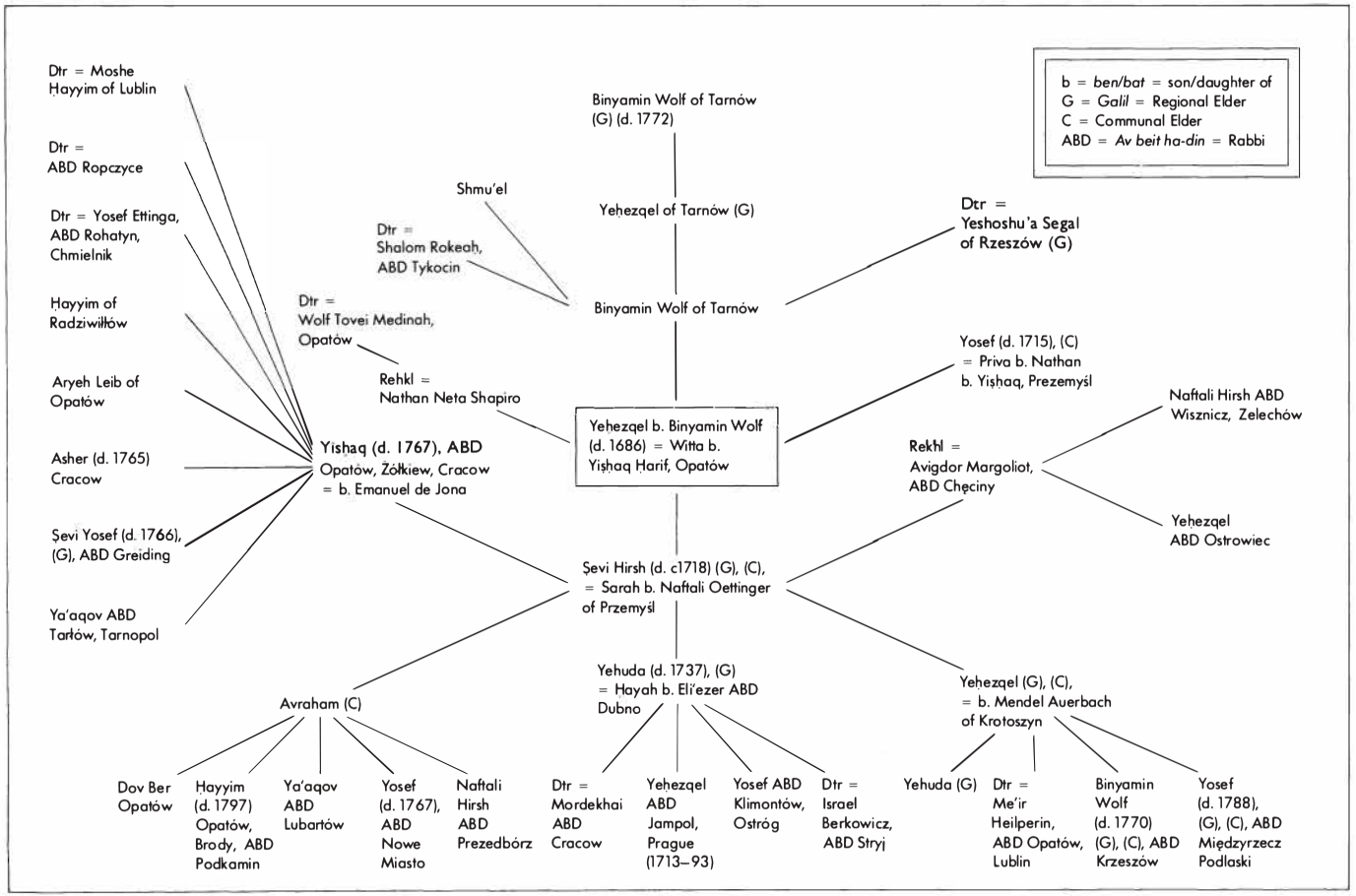

b = ben/bat = son/daughter of
G = Galil = Regional Elder
C = Communal Elder
ABD = Av beit ha-din = Rabbi
Dtr = Moshe Ḥayyim of Lublin
Dtr = ABD Ropczyce
Dtr = Yosef Ettinga, ABD Rohatyn, Chmielnik
Ḥayyim of Radziwiłłów
Aryeh Leib of Opatów
Asher (d. 1765) Cracow
Ṣevi Yosef (d. 1766), (G), ABD Greiding
Ya'aqov ABD Tarłów, Tarnopol
Binyamin Wolf of Tarnów (G) (d. 1772)
Shmu'el
Dtr = Shalom Rokeah, ABD Tykocin
Yehezqel of Tarnów (G)
Dtr = Yeshoshu'a Segal of Rzeszów (G)
Dtr = Wolf Tovei Medinah, Opatów
Binyamin Wolf of Tarnów
Rehkl = Nathan Neta Shapiro
Yosef (d. 1715), (C) = Priva b. Nathan b. Yiṣḥaq, Prezemyśl
Yiṣḥaq (d. 1767), ABD Opatów, Żółkiew, Cracow = b. Emanuel de Jona
Yehezqel b. Binyamin Wolf (d. 1686) = Witta b. Yiṣḥaq Ḥarif, Opatów
Rekhl = Avigdor Margoliot, ABD Chęciny
Naftali Hirsh ABD Wisznicz, Zelechów
Yehezqel ABD Ostrowiec
Ṣevi Hirsh (d. c1718) (G), (C), = Sarah b. Naftali Oettinger of Przemyśl
Yehuda (d. 1737), (G) = Ḥayah b. Eli'ezer ABD Dubno
Yehezqel (G), (C), = b. Mendel Auerbach of Krotoszyn
Avraham (C)
Dov Ber Opatów
Ḥayyim (d. 1797) Opatów, Brody, ABD Podkamin
Ya'aqov ABD Lubartów
Yosef (d. 1767), ABD Nowe Miasto
Naftali Hirsh ABD Prezedbórz
Dtr = Mordekhai ABD Cracow
Yehezqel ABD Jampol, Prague (1713–93)
Yosef ABD Klimontów, Ostróg
Dtr = Israel Berkowicz, ABD Stryj
Yehuda (G)
Dtr = Me'ir Heilperin, ABD Opatów, Lublin
Binyamin Wolf (d. 1770) (G), (C), ABD Krzeszów
Yosef (d. 1788), (G), (C), ABD Międzyrzecz Podlaski

Fig. 1 The Landau family

central Europe, in general. Sometimes, however, there were conflicts within the family.

Ṣevi Hirsh and Sarah had at least five children: Avraham, Yehuda, Yeḥezqel, Yiṣḥaq, and Rekhl. The latter married Avigdor ben Menaḥem-Mendel Margoliot, rabbi of Chęciny. She bore him one son before her death: Naftali Hirsh. He called himself Landau after his mother's family. Naftali was the rabbi of Wisznicz and Zelechów. All four brothers, sons of Ṣevi Hirsh, together with their cousin, Binyamin Wolf, were involved in the trade in luxury fabrics.[17] In addition, they were all prominent in communal and intercommunal affairs. The oldest son, Avraham, was frequently a communal elder between 1711 and 1747.[18] In 1721, he shared a large brick house with his brother, Yeḥezqel, next to a similar house occupied by Yehuda and Nota Shapiro.[19] The latter, like the other members of the family, was generally referred to in the sources as Hasklewicz (Haskl = Yeḥezqel).

Yiṣḥaq (Isaak) was married to the daughter of a court physician of Jan Sobieski, Emanuel de Jona, also called Simḥah Menaḥem ben Yoḥanan Barukh mi-Yoni.[20] In addition to his activities as a merchant of textiles and furs, Yiṣḥaq held rabbinical positions in Tarłów and Opatów (1719–24), Żółkiew (including, for a time, the "land" of Ruthenia), and Cracow.[21] Yiṣḥaq's approbation was very frequently sought by rabbinic authors. Many of these were granted while he was in Żółkiew, leading one to suspect that the approval of the local rabbi was a necessary condition for publication.[22]

Yehuda followed his father as elder of the *galil* from 1722 until his own death in 1737.[23] Yehuda was married to Hayyah, daughter of Eli'ezer, rabbi of Dubno. Eli'ezer subsequently moved to Brody, where he was a prominent merchant. Yehuda may have been, briefly, rabbi of Rzeszów, but he returned to Opatów to seek the rabbinate, losing out to his brother, Yiṣḥaq. Yehuda was a frequent delegate to the Council of the Lands, particularly between 1719 and 1730.[24] Like his brothers, Yehuda was involved in the textile trade.[25] On the death of her husband, Hayyah donated to the synagogue a *parokhet* (curtain for the Torah ark), woven of silk with gold thread, for use on holidays, in his memory. Yehuda's son, Yeḥezqel, donated a *kapporet* (a shorter curtain for the Torah ark) with gold and silver thread.[26]

Yeḥezqel ben Ṣevi Hirsh was the youngest of the brothers. He was a sometime elder of the community, who succeeded his older brother Yehuda as elder of the *galil* in 1738, serving until his death in about 1747.[27] He was married to the daughter of Menaḥem Mendel Auerbach, rabbi of Krotoszyn. Mentioned in the minute book of the Opatów community from 1711, Yeḥezqel also served as the rabbi of the *kloiz* in Opatów.

Yeḥezqel's sons, Yehuda, Binyamin Wolf, and Yosef, all served as elders of the *galil,* the latter two virtually continually from their father's death until the disestablishment of the councils in 1764.[28] Little is known about Yehuda

ben Yeḥezqel except that he participated in a meeting of the Council of the Lands in 1742 and was elder of the community in 1747.[29] Yeḥezqel is known to have had at least one daughter. She was married to Me'ir ben Binyamin Wolf Heilperin, rabbi of Opatów from 1712 to 1718 and, later, rabbi of Lublin.[30] Binyamin Wolf ben Yeḥezqel was active in the community from roughly 1740 to 1769. For a time he held a rabbinical position in Krzeszów but continued to reside in Opatów.[31] He was active as a merchant, and, together with others, he leased the kahal tax on commerce in 1758.[32] Despite his being an elder of the *galil,* his name appeared on most of the tax rolls of the period, and he paid among the highest rates in the community.[33] In 1764, his household numbered six people, including his wife, children, and a servant. Two other families lived in the same house.

The youngest brother, Yosef, was active in Opatów continuously from the 1740s to the 1780s.[34] He was married to his niece, Breindel, daughter of Me'ir Heilperin. While he continued to reside in Opatów, Yosef held the position of rabbi of Międzyrzecz Podlaski.[35] In addition, he succeeded his father as rabbi of the *kloiz* in Opatów. Yosef was also a cloth merchant, and he paid taxes at an even higher rate, generally, than his brother Binyamin Wulf.[36] In addition to his position as elder of the *galil,* Yosef sometimes held office in the community between 1747 and 1775.[37] On June 13, 1756, he was one of the signers, together with his cousin Ya'aqov (son of Isaac, and rabbi of Tarnopol) and twelve others, of the ban of excommunication against the Frankists enacted by the Council of the Land of Ruthenia at Brody.[38]

In contrast to the children of Yeḥezqel, most of his brothers' children left Opatów. Avraham had five sons. One, Naftali Hirsh, was killed on the road between Chęciny and Przedborz soon after his marriage to Neḥama, sister of Jacob Emden. Ḥayyim (died 1797), who briefly held a rabbinical position at Podkamin in the 1770s, spent most of his life in Brody, where he was a leading figure in commerce and a patron of the famous *kloiz.* His wife was Miriam Babad, daughter of Yekel. Ḥayyim formed a business partnership with his brother-in-law, Shmu'el. Of the other sons of Avraham, Yosef was rabbi of Nowe Miasto, while Ya'aqov occupied a similar position in Lubartów. The latter was married to the daughter of Moshe ben Ziskind Rotenberg, rabbi of Hamburg. A fifth son, Dov Ber, remained in Opatów.

Of Yiṣḥaq's children, one daughter married Yosef Ha-Levi Ettinga, rabbi of Rohatyn and, later, Chmielnik. Yosef's sons, Ya'aqov Simḥah and Yisra'el Yonah, took the name Landau, after their mother. At the end of the eighteenth century, from about 1788, Ya'aqov Simḥah Landau was rabbi of Opatów. Yiṣḥaq's sons included Hayyim of Radziwiłłów; Aryeh Leib, a judge in Opatów and, later, Lwów; Asher of Cracow; Yosef, rabbi of Greiding; and Ya'aqov, rabbi of Tarłów and, later, Tarnopol. The last had the title *nesi ereṣ Yisra'el* and was charged with the collection of funds to be sent from Poland

to the poor of the Holy Land. He also, as mentioned, signed the ban against the Frankists in Brody in 1756.

Of Yehuda's children, one daughter married Israel Berkowicz, rabbi of Stryj,[39] and another married Mordekhai of Cracow. One son, Yosef, lived for a time in Opatów, where he was warden of funds for the poor of the Holy Land in 1726–27.[40] Later, he was rabbi of Klimontów and Ostróg. Yosef's younger brother, Yeḥezqel (Ezekiel), was most famous of all the sons of the Landau family. He was born in Opatów in 1713 and died in Prague in 1793. After some years in Ludomir and Brody, Yeḥezqel accepted rabbinical office, first in Jampol (1745–54) and then in Prague (1754–93).[41]

CHALLENGES AND DISPUTES

The Landaus were wealthy and learned, a dominant presence in the institutions of Jewish autonomy, especially in Little Poland and Ruthenia. They occupied important offices and formed marriage ties with others in similar positions from Tykocin (Tiktin) to Hamburg and from Międzyrzecz Podlaski to Brody, Lwów, Jampol, and Tarnopol. They were particularly prominent in the Cracow-Sandomierz region and had strong links to Brody.[42] The Landaus were not an organized party, and from time to time there were splits and fierce disputes within the family. Moreover, on several occasions, their claims to leadership were challenged, and their integrity questioned.

The most serious charge, and also the most obscure because it has not been corroborated, was leveled by Jacob Emden.[43] He claimed that Ṣevi Hirsh Wittes had libeled two innocent, learned, and righteous men of Opatów, Y. Deikhes and his companion. As a result of this slander, the two were hanged.[44] Emden claimed, further, that his own father had refused to visit Hirsh, who, near death, asked for him; his father responded, "will I be a friend to informers?"[45] Now, Emden leveled his charge some forty years or more after the fact and in the midst of his great battle with Jonathan Eibeschütz.[46] A number of members of the Landau family took the Eibeschütz side. Ezekiel Landau of Prague refused to condemn Eibeschütz in public, while declining at the same time to support Emden. As a result, Emden attacked the Landaus in his books, calling them the sons of Koraḥ, an allusion to the biblical Levite rebels, and making various accusations against them.[47]

The fact that the charge was made so long after the alleged event and in the midst of a ferocious feud must cast some doubt on its veracity. On the other hand, Emden, for all of his extreme language and sometimes outrageous charges, has often proved to be accurate. In this particular case, however, one wonders if he was not twisting the story somewhat. On the other hand, Emden may have been a witness to the event to which he alluded. In the winter of 1714–15, he had been in Opatów with his parents and his sister, Neḥama.

She was betrothed to none other than the grandson of Ṣevi Hirsh Wittes. According to Emden, it was "at that time" that a feud arose in the kahal involving the Landaus, and "as a result, two men were hanged." Subsequently, however, Neḥama did marry the grandson, but he was killed (by highwaymen?), and she remained a childless widow until her death. If Ṣevi Hirsh was guilty in the simple sense that Emden presented it, surely the match between Neḥama and Hirsh's grandson would have been annulled. Still, until other sources can be found, the matter must remain moot.

More reliable is Emden's reference to a dispute over the rabbinate in Opatów between the brothers, Yehuda and Yiṣḥaq, sons of Ṣevi Hirsh. In a book published in 1755, Emden wrote that thirty years earlier there had been a disagreement over Yehuda's appointment to rabbinate of Opatów.[48] Yehuda, Emden wrote, had received the position as a result of a bribe he had given the town owner.[49] Yiṣḥaq, however, refused to recognize Yehuda as the new rabbi. The contest found expression in a dispute between the brothers over who would lead the procession around the synagogue holding the citron and palm branch on *Sukkot*. Yiṣḥaq had served as rabbi of Opatów from 1719 until 1727, or perhaps, 1728. At that time, he stepped down as rabbi but remained in Opatów; the sources refer to him as the previous rabbi.[50] The circumstances surrounding his resignation may have had something to do with the dispute described by Emden. Yehuda, then an elder of the *galil*, may well have felt that his position was superior to that of his brother. He, therefore, was entitled to the honor of leading the first procession on *Sukkot*.[51]

THE KLOIZ

Emden went on to say that, as a consequence of the controversy, the Landaus expended huge sums in payments to the town owner and built a synagogue of their own, which was called by the family's name.[52] This was, no doubt, the *kloiz* of which, by 1728, Yiṣḥaq was the rabbi. In that year, the town owner issued an edict limiting the number of people permitted to attend services there.[53] In fact, the *kloiz* was a room in Yiṣḥaq's house converted for purposes of worship and study. There is good reason to suggest that this *kloiz* was more than a conspicuous symbol of the wealth and self-importance of the Landaus. Like the more famous *kloiz* in Brody, established at about the same time and with which the Landaus were involved as well, it most probably was a center for the study of mystical texts.

In 1734, Yequti'el Gordon wrote to Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto (RaMḤaL, 1706–46) with a request in the name of the scholars of Poland, particularly "the rabbi of Żółkiew, who was previously the rabbi of Opatów, and my lord, teacher, and rabbi knows him well, for he is the brother of the great 'path-breaker,' Rabbi Yehuda of Opatów, also known as R. Yehuda Witshes."[54] The

request was that RaMḤaL explain a sample passage of the Zohar, with a view, according to one historian, to publishing a full Zohar with Luzzatto's commentary.[55]

Whatever the case in this particular matter, it seems quite probable that Yiṣḥaq and Yehuda Landau, at least, were part of the network of mystic-scholars in Eastern Europe, which also had ties to Luzzatto in Padua. Several of the next generation of Landaus had ties to the Brody *kloiz,* including Ezekiel, Yosef, and, most notably, Ḥayyim ben Avraham, who acted as patron as well as participant. Since neither Yehuda nor Yiṣḥaq left any writings, the matter cannot be pursued further. Yehuda never did become rabbi of Opatów, and the position seems to have remained vacant until 1731, when Aharon Moshe Ya'aqov of Cracow was appointed. Earlier, in 1729, Yiṣḥaq left to take up the rabbinical position in Żółkiew.

DOMINATION OF THE KAHAL

Even before the great ruckus of 1744, to be described below, there was apparently a number of less dramatic incidents in which opposition was expressed in one way or another to the domination of communal life by the Landaus. The difficulties arose, for the most part, between members of the leadership stratum on the one hand and the Landaus and their allies on the other. Thus, in the early 1720s, Dawid (ben Icik) Zamojski (of Zamość), the town owner's comptroller for the kahal (*rachmistrz*), complained bitterly on at least two occasions that he could control neither Yiṣḥaq nor his brother, Yehuda Landau.[56] According to Zamojski, Yehuda had failed to account for his actions in negotiating loans for the kahal and in disbursing its funds. Not only did he not settle accounts with Dawid but disgraced and dishonored him.

Moreover, year after year, in defiance of the rule that no one may hold office in the kahal for two years in succession, Yiṣḥaq Landau had kept his own people in office in the kahal. On one occasion, he obtained authorization to keep five of the nine officers in place for a second year, and "even this was not enough for him, six have remained in office with three new ones."[57] At about this time, another petition reached the town owner, this one from the kahal but undoubtedly inspired by Yehuda Landau. The petition protested against the rule barring incumbents from continuing to serve in office. The kahal petitioners claimed that there was a need for experienced people, who were familiar with the kahal's creditors and able to negotiate with the *galil* in matters of taxation.[58] Among the other points, it noted that so many people had libeled and slandered the *ziemski* of late (i.e., Yehuda Landau and other communal elders), using foul language and calumny, that the kahal had decided to petition for permission to fine the people involved.

There was a dispute in 1726 between Yehuda and the kahal. The kahal

denied Yehuda's claim that it was his right as *galil* elder to attend meetings of the kahal year after year. In 1727, there was another disagreement, this time between Yiṣḥaq and the kahal, possibly over the matter mentioned above—that is, his control of the kahal elections. Yiṣḥaq contended that he had been libeled in the kahal minute books but did not explain how.[59] There was other, perhaps related, evidence of tension, at the same time. Some *arrendators* had beaten the employees in the shop owned by Yiṣḥaq and his brother, Avraham, and had thrown a bolt of about fifteen meters of cloth into the mud. The occasion for the violence was not recorded. Also, a certain Herszl Futernik (furrier) had insulted Yiṣḥaq in some way.

In the kahal elections of 1728, an attempt was made to end Yiṣḥaq Landau's general control over the kahal elections. It had been his practice to designate five people to remain in office. The Landau party was ignored and even excluded from the proceedings.[60] Aside from his brothers, Avraham and Yeḥezqel, only one other member of Yiṣḥaq's party can be identified with certainty, namely, Dawid Chęciński (Rapoport). He was a merchant and, next to the Landaus, the richest man in the community. He was sometimes referred to as Dawid Bogaty (the wealthy). He had been an elder in 1726 and 1727.[61] The names of the rebels were not recorded. Since the exclusion of the Landau party reduced the number of qualified participants in the elections to a very few, a clever device was used to broaden the electoral rolls. The rule, at that time, was that to participate one had to have paid an average of at least four zloties weekly in *sympla* and commerce taxes during the previous year. The rebels reduced the year to thirty-seven weeks, thus effectively reducing the qualifying weekly payments by almost 30 percent, to two zloties, twenty-five groszy. This was, then, not a revolt of the masses but a conflict within the upper stratum of the Jewish community.

It would appear that Yiṣḥaq, although he resigned his office as rabbi in 1728, had a particular incentive to continue to control the kahal. As rabbi, he paid no taxes. These were paid by the community, but his commercial activities were limited. Once he left office, it seems, he still did not pay his taxes but, at the same time, expanded his commercial operations, even exporting grain to Gdańsk and doing business in Zamość. Members of the kahal demanded that he desist from commercial activities if he wished to retain his exemption from taxes.

On April 13, 1728, Sanguszko's official submitted a closely written six-page report that sought to resolve the dispute between Yiṣḥaq Landau and the kahal and to establish good order in the community.[62] The recent elections were taken up first, and it was ruled that they be held again and that, this time, they include the unfairly excluded people. Further, the one *rosh* (*rezydent*) and four judges (*duchowny*) nominated by Yiṣḥaq to remain in office were to be accepted in accordance with the earlier order of the town owner. The

abuse of reducing the year to less than fifty-two weeks was absolutely forbidden on pain of a fine of 100 red zloties.

While the report also demanded that Yiṣḥaq pay the taxes he owed within one week, it strictly forbade the kahal to interfere with his business dealings. Moreover, the slanderous statement about him in the kahal minute book was, under no circumstances, to be copied or circulated. As mentioned, the nature of the slander was not recorded in the sources. Also, the report continued, if Hersl Futernik did not retract his insult of Yiṣḥaq, he was to be made an example of and to be sentenced to three days and three nights in the *kuna*.[63] The matter of the *arrendators'* attack on the Landaus' shop could not be investigated, because the central witness was away from the town. The following year, whatever penalty had, finally, been decreed against the *arrendators* was suspended because of their importance to the town owner's income. They continued to hold *arenda*.[64]

Yiṣḥaq, a figure of considerable authority and an active and wealthy merchant, was important to the town owner as a producer of revenues and as one who helped maintain order in the town. It is not, therefore, surprising, that he was protected by the town owner. A few years earlier, Sanguszko had written to the magnate, Zamoyski, owner of Zamość, demanding "instant justice" for Yiṣḥaq and his partner in connection with certain complaints they had about Zamość Jewish merchants.[65]

In the matter of Yehuda Landau, elder of the *galil* and sitting regularly with the elders, however, the report of April 1728 took the side of the kahal. It pointed out that Yehuda's father, (Ṣevi Hirsh Wittes) had also been a *galil* elder and that he, according to the records of the kahal, had participated only one year. Yehuda, therefore, had no right to continuous participation. He was to take part only in kahal deliberations of matters directly concerning his own office, on pain of a fine.[66]

Yehuda's death in the early months of 1738 was followed shortly thereafter by his daughter's demise. She had been married to Israel Berkowicz, rabbi of Stryj.[67] On March 24 of that year, Sanguszko, who had received information "secretly, from excellent sources," ordered his *gubernator* to impound all of the goods and property of Yehuda's son-in-law. Yehuda had transferred substantial wealth to Israel Berkowicz and the town owner had been informed that Berkowicz was planning to move out of Opatów, taking all of his substance with him. Sanguszko demanded instant action in this matter.[68] Berkowicz eventually left, presumably after he had arrived at some sort of financial settlement with the kahal and the town owner's officials.

Yehuda was followed in office as elder of the region by his younger brother, Yeḥezqel. He must have experienced difficulties from the beginning of his tenure in office, since he received special writs of protection from Sanguszko in 1738, 1741, and 1743.[69] The wording in the first two was very general,

but in the third the town owner promised him the help of the *gubernator* in the collection of debts owed to him by Jews in Opatów and asked that he prepare a list of debtors.

Tensions in the 1740s

There were tensions on a number of fronts in the community in the 1740s. In the summer of 1740, a certain butcher, Herszl Manaszewicz, defied the elders, refusing to accept their authority. The sources do not specify the nature of his defiance. Whatever he may have said or done, he lost his right of residence, and the kahal stipulated that no family was to arrange a marriage with him. The following spring, young Herszl appeared before the kahal and asked for clemency. It was granted, and his right of residence was restored.[70]

Another sort of controversy is alluded to in the course of some vitriolic remarks written by Jacob Emden about Ezekiel Landau of Jampol and Prague. The latter, according to Emden, had been a supporter of R. Naḥman Kossover (died 1746), who, in Emden's view, was an "ignoramus and acknowledged heretic," "a follower of Shabbetai Ṣevi."[71] Ezekiel Landau had sent Kossover to Opatów "to contaminate that holy community." When the faithful and proper Jews realized his true nature, they unmasked him. The Landau family, however, "made a great issue over this, igniting the flames of controversy," which led "almost to the spilling of blood."[72]

Now, Kossover was associated with kabbalistic and pre-Beshtian Hasidic circles. Apparently, he had a somewhat uneasy relationship with Israel Baal Shem Ṭov, himself.[73] Ezekiel Landau may have met Kossover in Ludomir, where they both are known to have lived for a time, or perhaps, in Brody. "The flames of controversy," to which Emden referred, cannot be traced in the archival materials. If, however, the Landau *kloiz* was, in fact, a center for the study and contemplation of mystical texts, there would have been a ready and interested audience for someone like Naḥman Kossover. The rabbi of the *kloiz,* in this period, was Yeḥezqel ben Ṣevi Hirsh Landau, elder of the *galil* of Cracow-Sandomierz. Thus, it seems unlikely that Naḥman's visit was tied to the "missionary" efforts of Beshtian Hasidism.[74]

Meanwhile, Yeḥezqel's brother, Yiṣḥaq, rabbi of Żółkiew and the land of Ruthenia, was seeking the rabbinate in Cracow. His principal rival was the candidate supported by the brothers Shmu'el and Gedaliah Ickowicz, the famous agents of Hieronym Radziwiłł.[75] Their candidate was Yosef Yonah The'omim Frankel, Shmu'el's son-in-law. According to Majer Bałaban's hypothesis, the Landaus had succeeded in ousting the incumbent rabbi, David Shmelke, and were seeking the position for Yiṣḥaq.[76] Gedaliah Ickowicz, however, journeyed to Cracow, where he negotiated with the kahal elders and purchased the office for his brother's son-in-law. Ickowicz took care, also, to obtain writs authorizing The'omim Frankel's appointment from both the gov-

ernor (*wojewoda*) and the monarch, himself. The Landaus did not give up easily and, using their influence, caused the arrest, twice, of The'omim Frankel's wife near the end of 1744. No putative grounds for those arrests are mentioned in the sources. Ultimately, Frankel gave up the effort, and by 1748 Yiṣḥaq Landau was rabbi of Cracow. According to Emden, he paid 40,000 zloties for the position.[77] Yiṣḥaq held the office until his death in 1767.

The Great Ruckus of 1744

On December 23, 1744, Sanguszko issued to Yeḥezqel Landau the fourth, and the most strongly worded, of a series of letters of protection begun in 1738. He threatened that if anyone harmed Yeḥezqel or his sons, he would face the confiscation of his property and the loss of his life.[78] This was in response to Yeḥezqel's petition after what he described as a "rebellion" (*bunt*) against him the previous week.

Even before the tension exploded into violence in December, the previous months had seen escalating controversy and resentment. The issues focused on the control of the offices of the kahal by Yeḥezqel Landau, who, year after year, ensured that he, his sons, and their allies would hold office and control the distribution of the tax burden, particularly the commerce tax. In the latter matter, it was claimed that Wolf, son of Yeḥezqel and rabbi of Krzeszów, who held the contract for the collection of that tax, exempted his friends, family, and allies, thus unfairly burdening everyone else. There were loud arguments and sometimes violent disputes during the fall, but on December 18, just before the Sabbath began at sunset, there was a full-scale riot on the Jewish street.[79]

No less than seven descriptions or partial descriptions of the riot by eyewitnesses have been preserved.[80] Six of these descriptions supplemented and corroborated each other, for the most part; the seventh was quite different. What follows is a reconstruction of the events based on the group of six testimonies. The witnesses included the *gubernator,* Józef Pozoski, and five Jews: Alexander Boruchowicz (*krawiec*), Abuś Solarz, Lewek Szmaier, and the two main victims in this version, Szymon Lewkowicz Czapnik and Abus Herckowicz Faktor. All of the five Jews were artisans or commercial agents who, although distinctly less prosperous than the wealthy merchants who controlled the kahal, were gainfully employed, taxpaying members of the community.[81]

Sometime in early December 1744, a certain tailor, Józef Lewkowicz, was sentenced by a Jewish court to pay a fine and to be locked in the *kuna* for an unspecified offense. On December 11, Józef's brother-in-law, Szymon Czapnik, apparently angry at this treatment, approached the leaders of the community and, in the course of an angry discussion, "thumbed his nose at the rabbi."[82] A small disturbance began, and the *shamash,* David, was sent to call

the *gubernator.* Asked to explain, Szymon claimed that the elders had forbidden him to appeal his brother-in-law's case. The *gubernator* expressed some dismay that such a sentence had been pronounced without his knowledge. The elders interrupted Szymon and announced that he would be fined for insulting the rabbi. Szymon replied to the *gubernator* that he had not done the least thing to give the elders an occasion to fine him.

Meanwhile, the elders had prepared a written version of the sentence and fine they intended to impose on Szymon, and they asked the *gubernator* to sign it. He refused, saying that he did not know all the facts and that he could not read what was written. "I am not literate in Jewish; I cannot sign while Szymon admits to no guilt and has appealed" the case (*nie umiem po Żydowsku*). The *gubernator* told the elders they must obtain authorization in writing from the town owner and that, meanwhile, they were to do no violence to Szymon.

On the following Friday, Yeḥezqel Landau returned to Opatów with the necessary authorization from the town owner. The elders, the rabbi, and Landau met in the kahal office to formulate the judgment or, perhaps, the ban of excommunication against Szymon.[83] As this was happening, Jews were gathering in the two nearby synagogues for the services marking the eve of the Sabbath. Meanwhile, Szymon Czapnik learned what was taking place and, together with his brother, Szymon Cyrulik, plus Lewek Szmaier and Abuś Faktor, went to alert the *gubernator* and begged him to stop the proceedings so they could appeal the judgment. He agreed to accompany them to the courtyard of the synagogues where the kahal office was.

When they arrived, the elders, the rabbi, and Yeḥezqel Landau, with a document in his hand, were coming down from the kahal office and beginning to make their way across the courtyard to the brick synagogue. Abuś approached Landau to ask for a delay so they could appeal. Landau replied to Abuś that the matter didn't concern him. Abuś then said he would put up 1,000 red zloties as a bond. He called out in Polish to the *gubernator,* "I protest." Pozoski then intervened and said to Landau and the rabbi, "Leave them in peace until they come back from the town owner." The response from Yeḥezqel Landau was (roughly), "Don't look for gifts from us, it will get you nowhere."[84] His sons, Wulf and Yosef, called out, "if these rogues put up one thousand, we'll put up two [thousand] and prove we're right." At about the same time, Landau punched Abuś in the mouth, according to one source, three times. A brawl began, with Wulf Landau, Szaja Futernik, and others calling out to their attendants, "beat the hooligans and we'll pay you."[85] Szaja Futernik and some others grabbed Szymon Czapnik, and the guards and the elders' attendants brought clubs and saps into play, beating him "and anyone else they chose." The *gubernator* could not stop the tumult.[86] Melech, the court beadle, punched Abuś Faktor repeatedly in the mouth in the course of the melée. In addition to Szymon and Abuś, Herszl Manaszewicz, Nosson, son

of the salt dealer, and Marek Chaimowicz were attacked. The attackers included Melech, the Landaus' attendants and servants, and those of Nosson Wigdorowicz, Szaja Futernik, and Wolf Szmuklerz.

On the following Tuesday, the entire municipal court conducted an official viewing of the wounds of the victims.[87] They visited Szymon Czapnik's house, where they found him in bed, ill and injured. His head was swollen, and there was a cut below his left eye and other wounds on his face. His clothing was bloody. They also saw Abuś Faktor, who had been beaten about the left eye and had scratches on his face and swollen lips. The victims accused the *galil* elder, Yeḥezqel, and his two sons, of having caused the riot. In addition, they charged seven others, all elders and beadles of the kahal.

Needless to say, the seventh version, presented by Yeḥezqel Landau, was quite different from those of the other witnesses.[88] In Landau's account, Szymon Czapnik, Abuś Faktor, and their fellow conspirators arrived at the kahal offices on that Friday afternoon in a fury. When Landau and the elders left the kahal office for the synagogue, Szymon, Abuś, and their supporters began shouting insults. A great crowd of several hundred Jews had gathered, and a tumult began, which spread into the Jewish street. Landau spoke worthily to Abuś Faktor, appealing to him to desist, but Abuś yelled all the louder, inciting others to join the ruckus. Landau was standing in the midst of the crowd, holding the decree signed by the town owner. Abuś, however, who had no respect for the *galil* elder's office, punched Landau in the mouth. Jumping to the head of the mob, Szymon Czapnik punched Landau in the neck. Then the two rebels fell upon Yeḥezqel, tearing at him. Other Jews joined in, shouting insults and curses at Landau, his sons, and his daughter-in-law. The mob tried to enter the women's gallery of the synagogue to beat the *galil* elder's wife. That night, Landau was ambushed or kidnapped briefly, and his life was threatened. The beating and the attack made him ill, and he took to his bed.

Both sides were summoned to appear before Sanguszko on January 22, 1745.[89] He brought down his judgment on the first of February. Abuś and Szymon, together with their "helper" Herszl Manaszewicz, should, he said, by all rights, be expelled from the town, but the lord was clement. He sentenced Abuś and Szymon to be placed in the pillory in the marketplace in Kolbuszowa on the fourth of the month: for Abuś, 100 lashes; for Szymon, in view of his injuries, 50 lashes. Herszl Manaszewicz was to be locked in the *kuna* during three successive Sabbaths, morning and evening, at the times of prayer. Abuś was to spend two Sabbaths in the *kuna,* Szymon, one. Moreover, Szymon was to pay to the lord's treasury the fine originally imposed by the kahal (400 *korcy owsa*). In the future, Sanguszko added, all Jews were to respect each and every one of their officials in accordance with the dignity of their offices. They were not to foment any disturbance, rebellion, sedition, or

tumult on the Jewish street or anywhere else. The punishment would be a fine, lashes, and expulsion from the town. In September 1745, Yeḥezqel Landau appeared before the town owner to obtain his approval of a number of decisions taken earlier by the kahal. Among these was the removal of the right of residence of Abuś Faktor, who, despite, or perhaps because of, the severe punishment meted out to him, continued to defame and insult the elder of the *galil.* Moreover, the original decree of expulsion against Herszl Manaszewicz, enacted in 1740 and commuted in 1741, was once again put into force.[90]

PEOPLE OR POSPÓLSTWO?

Earlier, some two weeks after passing sentence on the rebels, Sanguszko had issued a rather long list of twenty-three points, or instructions, to the kahal. These dealt for the most part with disputes that had arisen during the previous few years. In the preamble, he noted that the great malevolence of the people (*malevoli populi*) against the kahal elders and the elder of the region had led to various tumults and that these might lead the whole town to ruin. Now that the particular tumult had been dealt with, it remained to identify the internal causes, treat the problems, and calm both sides. In this way, order would be brought to the city.[91] The points dealt almost exclusively with conflicts between the Landaus and the *pospólstwo,* rather than with the artisans and poorer Jews. The *pospólstwo* consisted of the enfranchised members of the community, that is, those who paid a weekly *sympla* of two zloties or more but held no office. Thus, the points dealt with complaints presented by four elected representatives of the *pospólstwo,* all of whom were wealthy merchants and some of whom had been, or would be, elders of the community.

Concerning the complaint that year after year the *galil* elder's family and allies held the important offices in the kahal, Sanguszko, making reference to the ordinance of 1728 forbidding Yehuda to interfere in kahal elections, ruled that if one son served as elder of the community, the other had to wait three years before holding office. He then extended this to a general principle, that is, son was not to succeed father nor brother in kahal offices without an intervening period of three years.[92] Kahal elections were to be orderly and without any outside interference. Under no circumstances were the electors to leave the kahal office until their task was completed. In addition, Sanguszko authorized a procedure in which the delegates to the Council of the Lands were to be elected by the kahal and the *pospólstwo,* sitting together.[93]

The points also addressed the matter of distribution of the tax burden and, particularly, the charges against Binyamin Wulf Landau that he was favoring certain of his allies in his management of the tax on commerce. Sanguszko ordered that the collection of the commerce tax be removed from its lessees

(Wulf Landau and his partners) and placed in the control of two kahal trustees for a period of at least one year. If Wulf and his partners were to regain this lease, they must undertake first, as the *pospólstwo* insisted, to collect the tax fairly from everyone, especially the powerful. Though it is not certain precisely when, the farming of the commerce tax was in fact restored to Wulf and his partners.[94]

EPILOGUE

It is simply not possible on the basis of the existing sources to establish whether there were any connections between the "great ruckus of 1744" and either the Kossover disturbance or the contest for the Cracow rabbinate. Clearly, though, while the riot pitted artisans and poorer members of the community against the Landaus, their allies, and their servants, the existing tensions between the leadership groups—the *pospólstwo,* on the one hand and the Landaus and their allies on the other—created the conditions in which such an explosion became possible. Whatever else may have happened on that Friday afternoon, Yeḥezqel Landau's authority had been challenged. There was, as he himself put it, "disrespect for the dignity of [his] office." Because of his access to the center of power—that is, to the town owner—he was able to prevail, successfully overcoming a rival group within the elite.

After their father's death, Yosef and his brother Binyamin Wulf acted as elders of the *galil* continuously until the regional councils ceased to function in 1764. Binyamin Wulf died in about 1770, Yosef in about 1788.[95] By then, however, the town was clearly in decline, and the Landau family had begun to dissociate itself from Opatów and to move elsewhere. The coincidence of the gradual movement of the Landaus to other places and the town's slide into obscurity is illustrated by several incidents, beginning in the 1770s.

The first of these has been mentioned earlier, namely Ezekiel Landau of Prague's advice to a young rabbi not to bother with the rabbinate in Opatów: "I do not recommend returning to Poland for such a middling town."[96] In March 1777, Isaac Lubelski, a prominent and wealthy merchant, protested to Lubomirski that he was being systematically excluded from participation in the kahal. He named three individuals who controlled the kahal and who, by implication, were responsible for his exclusion. The three were Berek Golda, Lewek Futernik, and Moyżesz Chęciński.[97] What is notable, here, is that none was a Landau.

Another incident was recorded in the kahal minute book in 1789. Eliʿezer Segal Landau, son of Yosef and rabbi of Turobin, appeared before a meeting of the expanded kahal, which included the rabbi and the higher taxpayers, as well as the officers.[98] The entry records a compromise between Eliʿezer and the kahal. It seems the kahal had demanded that Eliʿezer pay the expenses for

the funeral of his late father. In response, Eliᶜezer demanded the return to him of a number of items his father had provided for the synagogue. These included two Torah scrolls, two curtains for the Torah ark—one with gold thread, the other with silver—two mantels for the Torah scrolls, and one short white curtain for the Torah ark (*kapporet*). These had been in the synagogue for many years, but, contrary to the kahal's claim, Eliᶜezer claimed they had been lent and not donated. The obvious compromise was reached: the kahal dropped its demand that Eliᶜezer pay for his father's funeral, and Eliᶜezer agreed that the items provided to the synagogue by his father would belong absolutely to the community. The agreement was duly signed by Eliᶜezer and by the rabbi of the community, his distant cousin, Yaᶜaqov Simḥah ben Yosef Landau.

There is a Hasidic tradition that may or may not reflect actual events but that, nevertheless, reveals something further about the forces at work in Jewish society at the end of the eighteenth century and, perhaps, about what was happening to families like the Landaus. A promising young student, Yisraʾel ben Shabbetai of Opatów, whose father was a poor bookbinder, was taken to Chęciny to display his erudition before the Avigdor, the rabbi of Chęciny. The rabbi embarrassed the young man regarding his undistinguished lineage. "If his father is a bookbinder [*korekh sefarim*], he must be related to me. We are both Levites, and the *korḥi* family are Levites." *Korḥim* was a popular name for the Landaus; Avigdor was married to Rekhl, daughter of Ṣevi Hirsh Landau. In the story, of course, after the rabbi made sport of the young man, the tables were turned and the rabbi was shamed by the young man's erudition. Yisraʾel ben Shabbetai grew up to become a prominent Hasidic leader, known as the *maggid* of Kozienice.[99] It may be that one of the unnoticed dimensions of Hasidism was precisely its modification of the significance of lineage in determining social status.

For a hundred years, the Landau wielded considerable authority in Opatów and, most of the time, were accorded the deference due them according to the contemporary norms of Jewish society. When one comes to evaluate their actual power in the town, however, one is led away from the Landaus to a source outside of the community. The true locus of power in the sense in which Max Weber employed it—the ability to realize one's will against the resistance of others—was centered in the town owner and his administration.[100] In comparison with the power of the magnate-aristocrats, that of the Landaus, and the Jewish elite was limited, indeed.

8

Power and the Jewish Community

The owners of Opatów during the eighteenth century were Józef Karol Lubomirski (died 1702), his wife Teofila Ostrogska Lubomirska (died 1709), their son, Aleksander Dominik Lubomirski (died 1720), his daughter, Marianna, with her husband Paweł Karol Sanguszko (died 1750), and their son, Janusz Aleksander Sanguszko (died 1791). In about 1753, as part of his divestment and breaking up of the Ostrogski entail (*ordynacja*), Janusz sold the Opatów holding to Antoni Lubomirski (died 1782). Antoni Lubomirski's widow, Zofia Krasińska, administered the town until her death in 1790. At that time, the Opatów holdings passed to her niece, Izabella, and her husband, Ignacy Potocki.[1] All of these magnates controlled much more than the Opatów holding (*klucz*). Their policies in Opatów often depended simply on the quality of their administrator rather than on a general set of values or principles of management. Since the owners never resided in Opatów, the appointed official, usually called the *gubernator,* had considerable influence. Still, certain differences among the various owners can be distinguished, and certain developments in the course of the eighteenth century can be identified.

Generally speaking, the course of the eighteenth century saw a tendency toward tighter controls in more areas of Jewish life and, increasingly, more crudely exploitative policies. Paweł Karol Sanguszko intervened more directly than his predecessor, and Antoni Lubomirski, followed by his widow, sought to influence events and guide developments in a remarkably attentive way. As for Janusz Aleksander Sanguszko, who controlled the estate only briefly, he was known to contemporaries as the chief drunkard in Poland-Lithuania.[2]

THE ALEKSANDER DOMINIK LUBOMIRSKI REGIME

While no set of instructions issued by Aleksander Dominik Lubomirski regarding the Jewish community of Opatów exists, there is a set of responses by his commissioners to complaints against the "synagogue" of Opatów by the Christian municipality in 1708.[3] Those responses are noteworthy particularly for their insistence on the protection of the Jews' rights and privileges and their lack of sympathy for the complainants. Thus, the first point on the burghers' list maintained that, according to city law, Jews were forbidden to conduct trade and sell beverages anywhere except on their own street: "Now Jews produce beer and mead, and sell wine, hay, oats, herring and [other] fish, groats, salt, candles, and meat on our marketplace. They even sell pork, which they do not eat." The commissioners responded by quoting the Jews' privilege, which guaranteed them the right to sell anything anywhere on any day. Saying that "the burghers must respect the law," they forbade the Christians from interfering in any way. Moreover, they insisted that the legal equality of the Jewish residents must be preserved.[4]

On the other hand, the Christian burghers' last complaint was that Jews participated in municipal elections, controlling the choice of two of the four aldermen, who rotated as mayor; this they deemed contrary to the holy Christian faith and to the laws of the kingdom. It was inconceivable that an unbelieving and subject people should wield authority over Christians. If such an abomination had occurred in the past, it was absolutely forbidden henceforth.[5] It should be noted at this point that Jewish participation in municipal elections in private towns was not unknown in this period.[6] Generally, though, it consisted of a kahal representative joining the guildmasters in the choice of officials. Since this was probably the case in Opatów as well, the complaint is most likely a characteristic exaggeration of the situation.[7] In the end, the commissioners called upon municipal officials to live together with the Jewish community in concord and affection. One should do nothing to anger the other; they must always bear in mind the general public good.[8]

Neither the echoes of canon law and church doctrine, on the one hand, nor the demand for Christian-Jewish amity, on the other, were to reappear in the instructions and other directives of the magnates who owned Opatów for the bulk of the eighteenth century: Janusz Sanguszko and Antoni Lubomirski. The overriding interest of the town owners was to ensure the flow of cash from their possessions. It was necessary that law and order be maintained, that commerce and industry be fostered and competition reduced, and that the courts be fair and the weights and measures honest. Most important, all sources of revenue were to be exploited and taxes paid in full and on time. To achieve these ends, the estates had to be administered efficiently. In private towns "municipal autonomy was a fiction."[9] Even in towns where the form of

elections to municipal office was retained, those elected wielded no real power. The towns, like the villages in the countryside, were the property of the magnate-aristocrats. The authority of the kahal, therefore, was subject to that of the town owner. He saw the Jews' institutions as a part of the administrative network of his estate, whose purpose was to serve his interests. The question is, simply, what methods did the town owners of Opatów—first Sanguszko and then Lubomirski—utilize in the service of their interests as they applied to the Jewish community, and how thoroughly and effectively were these methods applied?

THE SANGUSZKO REGIME
The Jewish Communal Government

The most common motif in Sanguszko's instructions regarding the kahal was that there be no nepotism; that is, no transfer of kahal offices within families, but rather that new officers be elected annually.[10] No doubt, these demands reflected the tensions generated by the special position of the Landau family in the community. As to his idea of how independent the kahal ought to be, he assured the community in 1745 that it was free to conduct elections annually according to Jewish law and custom, without intrigue or interference from the estate's administrator. Following this declaration, he set forth precise electoral procedures.[11] Sanguszko did not attempt to influence the choice of individuals; his concern was that elections be orderly and that the elders govern efficiently.

Election results, as was customary, required the town owner's approval.[12] Despite his eloquent assurance of 1745, two years later Sanguszko determined, on the basis of complaints from the Jewish *pospólstwo,* that the elders were not fulfilling their tasks. He issued an "instrument," to be read in the synagogue, freeing Jews from any obligation to obey their elders and placing the administration of the community in the hands of his own commissioners.[13] At a stroke, then, the town owner disestablished, temporarily, the entire institutional expression of Jewish autonomy, unmasking it for the pretense it was. This action clearly reveals how tenuous was the independence of corporate institutions in the face of the town owner's power. Indeed, the existence of these institutions depended on the *pan*'s perception that they served his own interests. This was a species of absolutism, then, in which the subjects' institutions depended on the ruler's whim. But it was not whim or caprice that governed his actions; he was guided by an assessment of what would bring him the greatest benefit.

The town owners generally supported the Jews' institutions, recognizing that the kahal would perform its functions more effectively and at less expense than a salaried administrator. The elders recognized that their authority de-

pended on the support of "the pious duke." In 1740, in asserting their right to expel anyone who did not obey them, the following prefatory remarks were recorded in the community's minute book: "Since it is well known that 'but for the fear of [the government], men would have swallowed each other up alive' [Mishnah, Avot 3:2], and what is more, we have an ordinance from our great lord, the pious duke, his honor be exalted, to the effect that whoever misbehaves and defies the authority of the elders and leaders of the community, may their Rock and Redeemer protect them, shall be expelled totally from our community."[14] Clearly, the dictum from the Mishnah carried less weight than the ordinance from the pious duke.

Jewish Courts

Sanguszko, like his predecessors, and in accordance with the privileges of the community, permitted Jews to appeal the decisions of their own courts to his administrator or to him.[15] In documents issued by the town owner, three types of courts were mentioned: clerical, rabbinic, and kahal. A clerical (*duchowny*) court was presided over by judges (*dayyanim*), who took decisions in accordance with Jewish law (*halakha*) in matters not grave enough to be brought before the rabbinical court. The criterion was generally simply the value of the property involved in the case. The kahal court, presided over by the elders, was essentially a court of arbitration, in which decisions were based on compromise and common sense rather than the strict and often lengthy procedures of the *halakha.* Sanguszko demanded that the Jewish courts be conducted in accordance with fairness and justice and that these always be the courts of first instance in any matter between Jews or in which a burgher had a grievance against a Jew. In 1737, in his instructions to a new *gubernator,* Sanguszko directed that he adjudicate appeals cases coming to him from the Jewish court on the basis of "Jewish law and custom." Presumably, this meant that he would have to consult with the rabbi or with the elders. Sanguszko complained about the frequency with which appeals of decisions of Jewish courts were coming before him. This probably reflects the fact that individual Jews understood as well as the elders of the community where true power lay.

When appeals did reach the town owner, his rulings did not, however, necessarily contradict those of the community's courts. Thus, when Hona Ickowicz sued Icko Golda and his partners over a debt and appealed the decision of the Jewish court denying his claim, he lost again in the *pan*'s court. Indeed, the entire ruling of the kahal court was confirmed and an additional fine imposed.[16] Icko Golda was a sometime supplier of textiles to Sanguszko's court.[17] Was the kahal court influenced by Golda's economic connection to the town owner? At times, Jews refused to appear before their communal courts, demanding that their case be heard by the *gubernator* or the town owner. Such cases, however, were relatively rare during the Sanguszko pe-

riod.[18] Escape from communal discipline presumably carried too high a price for most Jews, both in practical and in psychological terms.

Existing sources say little about Sanguszko's dealings with the rabbi. In August 1722, Sanguszko demanded and received from Yiṣḥaq Landau written assurance that he would not accept a rabbinical post in another town without his (Sanguszko's) permission. Should he do otherwise, his property would be seized.[19] Sometime between 1725 and 1727, as discussed earlier, Landau did leave office; apparently, there was a considerable delay before a replacement was found. Growing impatient, Sanguszko's officials demanded, in April 1729, that a just rabbi, "appropriate to your requirements," be appointed by *Zielone Świątki* (Pentecost; the seventh Sunday after Easter) on pain of a fine. The choice of the rabbi, they added, must be made only by those authorized to do so by Jewish law and custom.[20] In fact, it was more than a year after that official intervention before Aharon Moshe Ya'aqov, rabbi of Chęciny, was appointed to the post in Opatów. He arrived, according to the recollections of Ezekiel Landau many years later, after *Sukkot* in 1731. Earlier that year, the *gubernator* had fined the kahal because of the delay in the choice of the rabbi.[21] The salary of the rabbi was also a matter of interest to the town owner; since it affected the finances of the kahal, any change had to be approved. Thus, in 1745 a special sitting of the kahal requested (and eventually received) permission to improve the situation of the rabbi by raising his salary from three to six zloties weekly.[22]

The Promotion of Commerce

Opatów was at the center of an estate that, in the early part of the eighteenth century, included five to seven manors and about twenty villages, as well as the townlet of Denków.[23] Since, with the exception of beer and vodka, the town had no special product, and since it was not the residence of the owner and thus not an administrative center, the principle function of the town was as a center of exchange for the people of the region. The role of Jews, in the owner's eyes, was to stimulate and expand the commercial activities of the town. This would, in turn, generate tax revenues and attract new settlers. The demand for the agricultural products of the rural parts of the estate would grow and, in general, the economic viability of the holding (*klucz*) would be assured.

In line with his effort to promote the commercial life of the town, Sanguszko was interested in limiting competition among Jewish merchants. In an unusually detailed intervention, he expressly forbade the stealing of customers of one cloth merchant by another by offering goods at a lower price.[24] Also, he attempted to regulate the practices of the factors of the Jewish merchants, who tried to steer customers to the shops of their employers. Sanguszko's policy was to confine them to the marketplace, and he fixed their

commission at 0.5 percent.[25] Observing that the muddiness of the Jewish street discouraged customers, the town owner required each householder to build a footbridge in front of his residence on pain of a fine.[26] Another indication of the desire to foster and protect Jewish commercial activity was the willingness of Sanguszko to provide the Jews protection from their creditors.[27] This practice served the interest of the owner just as much as his compelling them to purchase his own estate's products: all residents of the town could be, and were at times, required to purchase the agricultural goods produced on the estate.[28] Moreover, since much of the grain produced and marketed locally was used for distilling and brewing, and because of the overriding importance of the income from the distilling *arenda,* it was absolutely forbidden to import "foreign" vodka without permission.[29]

Communal Finances

The Sanguszko administration's instructions to the kahal and the *gubernator* evidence a concern with the financial administration of the kahal, its records, taxes, expenditures, and borrowing practices. The degree of supervision and intervention in this area was considerable. A Jewish official called *rewizor* or *rachmistrz* (roughly, comptroller) was employed by the administration to supervise the expenditures, income, and records of the kahal. No disbursement over 100 zloties was permitted, at least in theory, without his approval.[30]

During the 1720s, the position of *rewizor* was held by Dawid Zamojski. He was a member of a leading family; his father had been an elder of the community, and his son-in-law was a prominent merchant. Zamojski himself was occupied primarily with his tavern.[31] In two complaints, one addressed to Sanguszko and the other to his commissioners, Zamojski complained bitterly that he was unable to control the kahal's affairs because of the opposition and resistance of Yehuda Landau: "Now, as always, I keep to a single standard for everyone. I lead my life for the benefit of the community and the *pan.* He [Yehuda Landau], however, looked for ways to corrupt me, and when he saw that he could not do so, he took it into his head to ruin me. . . . After I was appointed *rachmistrz* for a second time, Juda Hasklewicz [Yehuda Landau] sought ways to sabotage me, incurring expenses [of the kahal], without my knowledge, of several thousands, with a consequent loss to the treasury."[32]

Zamojski also complained that Landau was in control of kahal elections, putting in his own people, and seeing to it that they held office for years at a time.[33] Although Sanguszko did take action to try to correct the abuses, these documents illustrate that the town owner's power to control events in the Jewish community was not unlimited.

The repeated efforts to achieve efficiency in tax collection is evidence of the recalcitrance of the problem. In 1721, for example, the administration demanded that the *korobka* (tax on commerce) not be leased but be collected by

kahal trustees supervised by the *rewizor.*[34] This reform, if it was adopted at all, did not last very long. By 1729, at least, the commerce tax was once again in the hands of an *arrendator.*[35] During the 1740s, the *korobka* was leased by Binyamin Wulf Landau and his partners. After complaints that Landau was granting unfair reductions and remissions to his friends, Sanguszko canceled their contract and awarded it to the kahal trustees. This was, apparently, a temporary measure, imposed until Landau could provide assurances that he would collect the tax fairly. Everyone who paid the tax, from the elders to the last merchant, was to take the traditional oath holding a Torah scroll, declaring his worth and his income in the synagogue and in the presence of the rabbi and two trustees.[36] To encourage the punctual payment of all taxes, elders, to set an example, were to pay their own taxes first.[37]

Furthermore, there were repeated demands that the kahal elders not use kahal income for private purposes. Under no circumstances was the community to borrow funds without the permission of the town owner. In fact, no elder could oblige the community financially without the consent of the *rewizor,* the *pospólstwo,* and the town owner.[38] Paweł Sanguszko also threatened creditors who clandestinely lent money to the kahal with nullification of the debt.[39]

Restrictions on Individuals

The Sanguszko administration impinged on the lives of individuals in areas other than commercial activity and fiscal obligations. Religious services, for example, could not be held in private homes without special consent. In the case of the *kloiz* established in the home of Yiṣḥaq Landau, the administration limited attendance to sixteen adults.[40] The main synagogue not only provided income to the community from the sale of pews and honors, it was also the setting for the imposition of communal discipline. The town owner's instructions were read to the community there, bans were proclaimed, and announcements were made. More, the social hierarchy was made visible in various rituals. The preeminence of certain individuals in the community was made manifest, as was the deference due them. Thus, Sanguszko's ruling served both his own interests and those of the leadership of the community.

While the territorial segregation of Jews and Christians was well established in Opatów by the beginning of the seventeenth century, occasional fires in the town meant that Jews had to acquire domicile and places of business wherever they could. When the Jewish street was rebuilt, the administration would demand that Jews return to their own district. Here, too, the kahal agreed. In 1753, when the street was rebuilt following the fire of 1751, it proclaimed a ban on anyone who remained "in foreign territory."[41]

Similarly, the town owner and the kahal shared a concern over wealth or

wealthy members of the community moving elsewhere.[42] No explicit legislation restricting the movement of Jews out of the town has been preserved from the Sanguszko period. Nevertheless, on the basis of a particular case, some conclusions are possible. The rule seems to have been that, if the resident parent planned to transfer wealth to a child, usually a daughter, who was marrying and moving to another town, there had to be a financial settlement with the kahal.[43] In this case, Israel Berkowicz of Stryj had married the daughter of Yehuda ben Ṣevi Hirsh Landau. Sanguszko noted in the margin of his communication to the *gubernator,* Jagniński, that he had learned all the details of the case, secretly, from excellent informants. There were, no doubt, many in the Jewish community willing to "inform" against the Landaus.

THE LUBOMIRSKI REGIME

The main difference between the Sanguszko regime and the Lubomirski period was the degree, scope, and frequency of Lubomirski's often personal interventions in the Opatów estate.[44] Antoni Lubomirski, as an actor in the political affairs of the commonwealth, behaved opportunistically, changing sides, allies, and patrons frequently. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is virtually no indication in the numerous instructions and orders that emanated from his residence at Opole Lubelskie of any consistent and conscious economic philosophy beyond that of maximizing his revenues and ensuring law and order in his holdings. Indeed, one scholar characterized his regime as "a typically feudal administration" and noted further that he focused on urban matters and not on agricultural policy.[45] The overwhelming majority of the formal lists of instructions issued by Lubomirski and, later, by his widow dealt entirely or in part with matters related to Jews. Fourteen of fifty-eight such documents were addressed directly to the kahal, two to the rabbi, and eleven to Jewish merchants, factors, and butchers.[46]

Antoni Lubomirski neither liked nor trusted Jews. He thought they were sneaky, insolent, corrupt, and malevolent, and he cautioned his officials to be wary in their dealings with them.[47] Yet, for all of his personal distaste for Jews, Lubomirski nevertheless found incentives to intervene in their behalf in various ways.

Jewish Communal Government

Lubomirski, like his predecessors, treated the kahal as part of the administration of his estates and expected it to serve his interests. His interventions in the matter of election procedures betrayed different preoccupations than those of Sanguszko. There is no reference in Lubomirski's instructions to the problem of nepotism, which so concerned the previous owner. Instead, Lubomirski

is found warning his *gubernator* strongly (vero maxime ostrzegam) against interfering in the kahal elections.[48] Such cautions appeared in documents from the years 1760, 1769, and 1776, implying that the problem was a continuing one. The wording suggests that the issue was the *gubernator*'s tendency to promote his own candidates and to extort funds in return for his approval of the kahal election results. Indeed, on more than one occasion, Lubomirski saw fit to limit the amount the *gubernator* could demand in return for his approbation of the newly elected slate of elders.[49]

In fact, the town owner was less concerned with the choice of elders than he was with the promotion of trade and commerce among the Jews of Opatów. In 1769, after years of complaints that the merchants who controlled the kahal offices were administering taxes unfairly, exempting their colleagues, and extorting from the poor, Lubomirski hit upon a novel solution. Since the merchants who governed the town were neglecting their businesses, they should cease to hold offices in the kahal. Similarly, he added, the holder of the main *arenda,* who was so important to the treasury of the estate, ought not to be distracted by holding office. Henceforth, the kahal officers should be drawn only from the honest and virtuous among the *pospólstwo.*[50] It is not at all clear whom he had in mind, but in this case the term *pospólstwo* seems to have meant all taxpayers; sometimes there were references to two groups, the wealthier and the poorer *pospólstwo.*[51] Although his demand was repeated in 1776, it does not seem to have affected the composition of the kahal leadership. Indeed, two years after the original edict, Lubomirski pointed out to the *gubernator,* Jagniński, that "the kahal usually favors one and impoverishes another. The rich merchants are not taxed, while the *pospólstwo* is led to poverty." He demanded that the kahal impose taxes by a uniform standard.[52]

Lubomirski had tried other ways to address the continuing complaints of the kahal's unjust application of the tax burden. Early in his regime, the following paragraph was the first in his instructions to the *gubernator:* "Evidence [supporting] the vociferous complaints of the subjects of my town of Opatów has reached me. [It shows] how the kahal elders and the clergy of the Opatów community, instead of administering justice, extort and impoverish the subjects, becoming themselves wealthy. Therefore, as of this date [August 13, 1755], no decree or order of the clergy or elders has any force without the approbation of the *gubernator.*"[53]

Twenty years later, Lubomirski had occasion to cancel the kahal elections. The *pospólstwo* complained in 1775 that the elections had not been held in accordance with an earlier edict of the town owner. That order, which has not been preserved, stated that the kahal electors had to represent the three classes: the rich, the middle income, and the poor. The elections of 1775, however, according to the complainants, had been held in great confusion,

with results detrimental to the interests of the poor. Lubomirski responded by ordering that on Monday, April 24, two of the present elders together with two representatives of each class appear at Opole to choose a new administration.[54]

Thus, under Lubomirski, as under Sanguszko earlier, the independence of corporate institutions was tenuous at best. Both owners intervened in municipal elections and in the affairs of Christian and Jewish guilds.[55] The consequence was the weakening of the authority and the vitiation of the power of those institutions. A further consequence might have been, in a fashion, the freeing of the individual from the yoke of collective discipline. If communal institutions had no real power, why should they be obeyed? The absolute authority of the town owner might have leveled subsidiary corporate institutions and created a single collective, without significant distinctions of religion or occupation; that is, if there had not been other forces at work deterring such developments.

Jewish Courts

As in the case of the kahal elections, Lubomirski was at pains to stress that the *gubernator* was not to interfere in any way with the work of the Jewish courts, whose independence was guaranteed by law.[56] He cited a document issued by Sanguszko in 1745.[57] By contrast, the *gubernator* was to preside at all sessions of the municipal courts, and these courts were not to consider matters outside of their jurisdiction according to Saxon law.[58] Lubomirski further protected the Jews from possible extortion by the official by fixing the fees the *gubernator* could charge for such things as the legal deposit of documents, copying an order, or recording a complaint.[59] Further, the town owner insisted that the court of first instance in cases between Jews be their own court. Anyone refusing a summons to appear was threatened with arrest.[60] Nevertheless, when the members of the rabbinical court came to evaluate the considerable estate of Lewek Futernik, his widow insisted that the matter was none of their business. She would produce her late husband's records only for the town owner.[61]

There were certain restrictions on the operations of the Jewish community's courts. For example, there were limitations on the imposition of fines; cases that involved criminal matters or members of the gentry were heard by the town owner's courts.[62] Also, decisions of the kahal courts could be appealed to the *pan*. The independence of the Jewish courts was therefore limited, and the awareness that there was a higher authority prompted frequent appeals. Lubomirski complained as early as 1754 that such cases, involving "any trifle," were reaching him far too often. Henceforth, he ordered, no case involving a sum of less than 100 zloties was to reach his court; others could be

resolved by the *gubernator.* [63] This concern to reduce the number of cases appealed to his court may help to explain his repeated insistence that the kahal courts be the courts of first instance.

When appeals of cases involving Jewish law did come before him, Lubomirski invited Jewish authorities to join him in hearing the case. Since such matters were generally adjudicated at his residence in Opole Lubelskie, these advisers were frequently rabbis and elders from the Lublin region.[64] In 1760, for example, three elders of the Lublin region (*galil*) heard the case of two brothers-in-law who were quarreling over who would inherit their father-in-law's brick house in Opatów.[65]

The Rabbi as Estate Functionary

Lubomirski, unlike his predecessor, sometimes issued instructions directly to the rabbi of Opatów or included such orders in his general instructions to the kahal.[66] The town owner sought chiefly to use the moral authority of the rabbi to see to it that taxes were paid honestly and punctually. Thus, when in 1758 a new set of regulations regarding the commerce tax was issued, these included the following item: "Finally, as soon as the new rabbi is approved and confirmed by the owner, he must, together with the judges [*duchowny*], pronounce the most severe ban during the prayers on a Monday, as is traditional, against those who trade secretly." [67]

In 1759, Lubomirski insisted, in his instruction to the kahal, that tax evaders be banned, prevented from burying their children, and forbidden to enter the synagogue.[68] In 1770 and 1771, long instructions to the kahal were accompanied by brief ones addressed to the rabbi, insisting that the rabbi use his authority to ensure that the elders comply with the orders.[69] In 1773, the rabbi was ordered to announce in the synagogue the severe prohibition on importing "foreign" vodka.[70]

In particular, the difficult task of collecting taxes from Jews living in the villages around Opatów was left to the rabbi to solve. Those who did not pay were to be denied entrance to the synagogue and banned.[71] As an incentive, Lubomirski ordered, in 1755, that the rabbi's salary be paid from tax revenue collected from the village Jews.[72] Perhaps it was an arrangement like this that led a contemporary preacher to complain that the rabbinate had become an agency for tax collection.[73] In 1769, Lubomirski informed the kahal that, in the event that the villagers did not pay their taxes, the rabbi would be responsible for collecting them. In this way, collection would be simplified, since the villagers would pay out of the fear of God.[74]

In 1771–72, Zelman Chęciński held the general *arenda* in Opatów.[75] An elder by 1755, he was a leading figure in the community as well as an active textile merchant.[76] While holding the lease, Chęciński defaulted on a quarterly payment, claiming he had been robbed of the money. The official of the

estate then "recommended" that the rabbis of the community assemble at least one hundred householders and, in their presence, kindle twenty-four black candles. They were to pronounce the most severe ban against the accused and ask them about the robbery. Zelman and his wife were to stand barefoot (*bosymi nogami na Rodał*) before this solemn assemblage and to respond to all questions while holding a Torah scroll.[77] Here, again, the rabbi served the interests of the town owner.

The preacher cited earlier, who complained that the rabbinate had become an agency for tax collection, noted, too, that "in many places [control of] the rabbinate had been removed from the Jews, and they have no say [in the choice of a rabbi]."[78] This was not the case in Opatów. The kahal did not lose control over the appointment of the rabbi. The choice, however, did have to be approved by the town owner. In return for this approval, a special payment called *rabinostwo* had to be made.[79] Thus, although the town owner did not completely control the appointment of the rabbi, he could veto an appointment at will. And he certainly felt free to issue orders to the rabbi. The elaborately detailed document of 1789 setting the remuneration due to the rabbi for a variety of tasks most clearly illustrates the degree to which the rabbi was treated as a functionary of the estate. Even though the details of the document no doubt originated with the kahal, both the fact that they saw fit to translate it and have the owner add her authority to it and the fact that she, in her turn, saw this as appropriate point to the conditional or dependent quality of the rabbi's authority.

Like the kahal and the Jewish courts, the rabbinate was treated as an extension of the administration of the estate. Its purpose, from Lubomirski's point of view, was to ensure communal discipline and, in particular, to use its moral authority to see to the punctual and complete payment of taxes. Further, in assiduously protecting his own revenues, the town owner fixed the salary not only of the rabbi, but of all the employees of the kahal. In 1757, Lubomirski authorized a raise in the preacher's salary from two to four zloties weekly; in 1777, because of the budgetary crisis, he suspended the payment of regular salaries to the preacher, the scribe, and the guards.[80]

The Promotion of Commerce

Lubomirski was concerned to protect and to maximize his revenues, and for this purpose he intervened more actively, more often, and in more areas than did his predecessor. He tried to prevent local merchants from taking actions that would discourage outside merchants from visiting Opatów and sought to eliminate competition among local artisans and merchants.[81] In 1781, for example, he referred to an earlier edict, which apparently has not been preserved; that sought to prevent competition between textile and fur dealers by forbidding each from handling the merchandise of the other.[82]

In cases of competition between Jewish and Christian merchants, the town owner took a different course of action. The Saul family, referred to in the records as Greeks, was primarily involved in the wine trade in Opatów. Nevertheless, they also dealt in textiles and other merchandise. In the 1780s, Irsz Saul traded in luxury fabrics and, in an effort to expand his clientele, imitated his Jewish competitors and hired a factor—Gierszon Mortkiewicz—to steer suppliers and clients his way. This led to many disputes, particularly with Michł Krakowski, a prominent Jewish textile merchant, who complained to the owner's court. Zofia Lubomirska ordered that Saul immediately dismiss his Jewish employee and hire a factor of his own religion.[83] She did not, however, interfere with his trading in textiles. The court ruling assured both Krakowski and Saul of the right to buy and sell as they wished.

The only commerce specifically forbidden to Jewish merchants was trade in wine and footwear.[84] A monopoly on the wine trade had been guaranteed to certain Hungarian merchants who had been settled in the town for this purpose.[85] The production of shoes and boots was the leading occupation of the Christian artisans of Opatów, and Lubomirski made an effort to protect the market for their goods by forbidding Jews to sell shoes and boots produced elsewhere. Nevertheless, he granted a special individual privilege to Jankel Izraelowicz Radziński, master bootmaker and leatherworker, permitting him to live and work in Opatów, tax free and without any payments to the shoemakers' guild for a period of three years.[86]

It was probably the desire to reduce competition that led Lubomirski, apparently without result, to try on several occasions to limit the number of factors. In 1756, the number was fixed at ten; in 1759, it was raised to twelve. In 1769, the earlier limit of twenty-four or thirty was not being observed, and in 1783, only eighteen people were authorized by name to be factors.[87] Factors, it seems were quarrelsome and disruptive and engaged in unsavory behavior. Once, Lubomirski put his demand in the following way: "they must not be Machiavellians and swindlers, but orderly, honest, and virtuous."[88] They were to stay in the marketplace and not gather at the entrance to town. And they were not to take goods from merchants and bring them to the gentry. In such a case, the merchant would be fined and the factor jailed.[89] The intent in this last rule seems to have been to keep the conduct of commerce confined to the marketplace, where it could be controlled and the proper taxes collected.

At times, the broader interests of the town owner's holdings took precedence over those of one particular possession. On July 15, 1760, the *gubernator,* no doubt on instructions from Lubomirski or his commissioners, demanded that Opatów's merchants take their goods to the fair in Dobromil at the end of the month. In particular, the merchants returning from Frankfurt

and Breslau were instructed to appear in Dobromil on pain of a very large fine.[90]

Problems related to credit and to bankruptcies also attracted Lubomirski's attention. Since it was common for Jewish merchants to obtain capital from gentrymen or merchant bankers or from their kahal, there were sometimes defaults and declarations of bankruptcy.[91] The town owner demanded that the kahal carefully investigate all claims of bankruptcy and that supporting evidence of the claim be provided. The settling of accounts was to take place in public in the middle of the marketplace. In 1757, he ordered that tricksters who fraudulently declared themselves to be without means be put in jail in irons as an example. In 1770, the town owner complained again of false bankruptcies and he specifically cited one individual (Meszel Pieczętarz, "the seal engraver"), who had paid no taxes at all for an entire year.[92] If one wished to swear that he was without means, he was to give the key to his account box to the kahal official and then, with his wife, publicly swear in the synagogue in the presence of the *dayyanim* and at least twenty-four men.[93] Finally, perhaps in an effort to protect Jewish debtors from the revenge of their creditors in the event of default, loans from gentrymen could not be accepted without the prior approval of the town owner. This provision seems to have been enforced from time to time.[94]

The town owner's administration also attempted to control the rates of interest collected by the kahal and others. In 1759, the kahal was authorized to collect 10 percent a year from Christians and 20 percent from Jews.[95] Some time later, the permitted rate for private Jewish lenders on loans to Jews was set at 12 percent a year. By 1789, however, Zofia Lubomirska complained that her late husband's edict in this regard was being ignored. The moneylenders were taking up to 30 percent interest a year. She demanded that no more than 12 percent be charged, because "this is obviously destructive for those who carry on trade and are in need of credits."[96]

Particular Trades

The tax on meat came to the treasury of the town owner. If prices were too high, people bought less, and the town owner's revenues diminished. Thus, Lubomirski, responding to continuous complaints that the butchers were charging too much for meat, decided to set meat prices and to single out butchers for punishment.[97] These measures, however, apparently were unavailing, since they were repeatedly reissued.[98] Jewish textile merchants were also accused of giving short measure. If this was true and was allowed to persist, it would have weakened demand for their goods. In 1754 and again in 1758 and 1759, Lubomirski insisted that the measure of length be the Sandomierz *łokieć,* and that shopkeepers use only measures bearing his seal;

the sanction was a fine and imprisonment.[99] Later, when the *sejm* tried to unify the Polish system of measures, Lubomirski ordered that these be adopted in Opatów, particularly the liquid measures used by the taverners.[100]

In fact, distilling and brewing occupied a good deal of the magnate's attention. He was concerned that the equipment be in good order and that the product be of good quality and in ample supply.[101] Elaborate instructions and detailed recipes for the preparation of the various types of vodka were provided, and the prices were set by the owner and his administration.[102] The importing of "foreign" vodka was strictly forbidden.[103] Guards were to be posted at the entrance to the town to keep it out, and they were offered four zloties for each person apprehended, as an incentive to vigilance.[104] A graduated set of fines was established for transgressors: from the poor (× 1), from the "wealthier" (× 2), from "Jewish merchants" (× 4). Moreover, an announcement to this effect was given the rabbi to be read aloud in the synagogue so that "no one can claim ignorance." Anyone who imported vodka from elsewhere or produced an inferior product was liable to such fines. Thus, Koppel Szmulowicz, a brewer, was fined and sentenced to three Sabbaths in the *kuna* for just such an offense in 1773.[105] This attention to the production and the trade in beverages reflects their importance to the revenues derived from the town. The income from the *arenda* contracts for the production and sale of vodka, beer, and mead was regularly five times the tax and other payments made by the Christians and Jews of Opatów.[106]

In this light, Lubomirski's comment in his instruction to his comptroller in 1771 is not a little astonishing. Regarding a small village (Łężyce) in the neighborhood of Opatów that had become depopulated, he wrote, "The devastation may be from this: a Jew lives in a shack there selling drinks and destroying the serfs by leading them to drunkenness. The Jew is to be ousted."[107] This notion, that Jews were corrupting the peasants with drink, became a leitmotif of Eastern European literature on "the Jewish question" in subsequent years. Such a comment coming from one who profited so tangibly from Jewish activities in this area, however, is a remarkable, if not unusual, case of inconsistency.[108] It suggests that Lubomirski was not always and solely motivated by financial considerations.

Communal Finances

Lubomirski's supervision of the community's finances was assiduous, thorough, and personal. The *gubernator* was not to interfere with the kahal tax records and was ordered to deposit them with the town owner. On the other hand, he was authorized to examine the Christians' records and to keep those documents in his possession.[109] And the *gubernator* was to supervise kahal expenditures, together, sometimes, with the estate comptroller.[110] The amount the kahal could disburse to the poor was strictly limited. If more was

needed, special collections would have to be made, rather than expending funds from the kahal treasury.[111]

Severe penalties awaited those who sought to evade payment of their taxes or otherwise reduce the flow of cash from the Jews to the town owner. Those who did not contribute because of poverty or idleness were to be driven from the town. In the words of a contemporary rabbi elsewhere, "Since the territory belongs to him, he makes sure that only those from whom he profits will live there."[112] On at least three occasions, Lubomirski demanded that those who did not pay taxes because "they sit idly looking for trouble," and thus were without income, be expelled forthwith from the town.[113] The sources disclose nothing about the success or failure of these edicts. The repetition, however, hints at failure.

Some contemporary preachers complained about wealthy Jews "driving the downtrodden poor from their towns, and if they are unable to do that, they conspire to cause them sorrow and to oppress them until they leave of their own accord. . . . With our own ears we have heard some of the wealthy say . . . 'they pay no taxes so there is no profit in tolerating them.'"[114]

There may have been, then, a coincidence of interests between the town owner and some of the leaders of the community. Sometimes, however, the town owner was capable of issuing orders that would have been unthinkable for the elders. Thus, if the collection of the *sympla* (income tax) was not completed on Friday, it was to continue even on the Sabbath.[115] A person who had not paid his taxes could be banned, prevented from burying his children and from entering the synagogue, or imprisoned and fined.[116]

Lubomirski demanded reports on all sources of kahal income with unprecedented thoroughness. He insisted on careful accounting of the income from the Burial Society, the poorhouse-hospital (*heqdesh*), and the sale of pews in the synagogue.[117] A list of funerals was to be provided annually, together with an account of the income from each.[118] Such a list for the year 1788–89 has been preserved.[119] The income from these three sources was to be used to pay interest on the loans held by the community and to meet other collective needs.[120]

Lubomirski issued numerous, often detailed, instructions regarding particularly the collection of the *sympla* and *korobka*. The *sympla* was to be paid weekly on Fridays, the *korobka* on the days following market days. Tax collectors, called *sotnik,* were employed for this purpose, and the town owner supplied footmen (*pachołki*) to help; both were paid by the kahal.[121] Careful records were to be kept, and the cash box was to remain with the *gubernator* for safekeeping.[122] Taxpayers were to be assessed fairly, without favoritism.[123] The taxes were to be paid punctually and in full, with special attention paid to those resident in the villages.[124] Both taxpayers and tax collectors were threatened with sanctions if they failed to comply with the instructions.[125] A com-

mittee of three rabbis together with representatives of the kahal could adjust obvious overcharges of *sympla*.[126] Part of the *sympla* went to pay the salary of the *gubernator*. The rest was used to pay interest on debts or for other communal needs.[127] The meat *korobka*, in theory, was to be remitted to the town owner, but it could be used at times to pay interest on loans if the *sympla* was insufficient.[128]

Most of the time, most of the taxes were collected more or less punctually. Nevertheless, there were always at least some difficulties. In 1757, three of the elders and a tax collector were fined for failing to comply with an order to submit the records of *sympla* payments as soon as possible.[129] In 1759, only a year after a complete revision of the scale of payments of the commerce tax, Lubomirski observed that the new instructions were not being followed.[130] In 1769, the town owner, in his instructions to the *gubernator*, observed that the kahal had not been following his instructions and was very poorly led. Certain taxes had not been paid at all for two years because of debts encumbering the Jewish community.[131] A year later, in an instruction to the kahal, it was observed that the *sympla* was not being collected punctually and the capitation (*pogłówne*) tax was not being collected at all. Indeed, the kahal was "in ruins."[132]

In 1776, in apparent frustration, Lubomirski signed and sealed a brief order on September 27, forbidding anyone—merchant, pedlar, burgher, or artisan—to leave the town. The edict was issued, he wrote, out of a desire to restore order and to repair the ruin of the town because of chaotic tax collections.[133] Three weeks later, he wrote to the *gubernator* saying that "for several years" the kahal had not provided records of its income from the Burial Society, the bathhouse, the *korobka*, and other taxes. These were to be submitted to the *gubernator* immediately.[134]

The following year, Lubomirski ordered cutbacks in the number of salaried employees of the kahal in an effort to reduce expenses and, in general, to address the "great disorder" of the kahal. He decreed that the preacher, the scribe, and the guards no longer receive a regular wage. Instead, they were to be paid on a "fee for service" basis. The cantor's salary was to be discussed, as were those of the beadles and other employees.[135] Similarly, Lubomirski was prepared to intercede in behalf of the kahal with the crown treasury.

The rabbinic literature of this period preserves complaints that kahal elders used community funds for their own private purposes.[136] And there were recurrent accusations against the leaders to the effect that they freed themselves unfairly from taxes while placing unfair fiscal burdens on the poor.[137] Both of these themes can be found in the instructions and other pronouncements of Lubomirski.[138] The owner of Opatów believed that part of the explanation for the confused financial situation of the kahal was that elders were using public

funds for private purposes.[139] Moreover, he wrote to the *gubernator* in 1771, "the kahal usually favors one and impoverishes another. The rich merchants are not taxed, while the rest are led to poverty."[140]

Animating all of these orders, instructions, and edicts was the town owner's desire to maximize his revenues by preserving good order in the town, by keeping the wealthy merchants there, and by driving out those who drained the community's resources. The variety of the measures and their relatively frequent repetition indicates that these goals were achieved only partially. Moreover, it seems clear that, despite all the efforts of the town owner's administration, by the waning of the century, the Jewish population was declining in numbers and in wealth.

Restrictions on Individuals

The town owner had the right to property that fell to him by the laws of escheat. In Lubomirski's comments, there was a concern that such property, in the case of Jews at least, come to him directly. This was not a matter for the *gubernator.* Under no circumstances, further, was the kahal to dispose of the property of a person who had died without heirs without the knowledge of the administration.[141] There is one case on record, however, in which only half of the estate went to the treasury of the town owner; the other half went to the kahal.[142]

Residents of most private towns were obliged to provide days of labor (*szarwark*) to the town owner. In some towns, Jews made money payments in lieu of actual performance of the work.[143] In others, the rabbi and the elders were exempt, as were the city counselors, but the rest of the Jews were obliged in the same way as other residents.[144] In still other towns, all Jews were promised exemption "from each and every labor obligation" demanded of the Christian residents.[145] At times, Jews were to perform only the so-called *szarward gwałtowny,* that is, labor necessary to meet some emergency.[146] In Opatów, residents were obliged to perform *szarwark,* which was usually related to repairs to the wells, roads, bridges, and ponds. The obligation fell on both Jews and Christians, but Jews were permitted to hire replacements.[147]

Lubomirski, like his predecessors, insisted that Jewish residence be restricted to the Jewish street. There was to be no property on the Christian marketplace in Jewish hands in any form—ownership, loan security, or lease. When the town owner learned, in 1777, that a certain Hana of Leipzig had rented a house in the Christian *rynek* (marketplace), he ordered the *gubernator* to get her out "this minute."[148] Within their own district, Jews, like Christians, required authorization for all transfers and sales of real estate.[149]

More than once, Lubomirski forbade prayer services in private dwellings. Exemptions were permitted to allow prayers in the home of a person who was

ill, if the kahal had assented, or in honor of a distinguished visitor. Otherwise, transgressors were threatened with severe fines.[150]

Perhaps even more than labor dues, restrictions on the movement of the population from private towns were the factor that led some historians to liken the situation of those in such towns to the status of serfs in the countryside. Most commonly in the case of Jews, there were attempts to forbid the marriage, mainly of girls, outside the domain.[151] Lubomirski, for his part, believed that "as the population of the town grew, and most particularly the [number of] merchants," the prosperity of all of the inhabitants of the town increased.[152] If the child of a Jewish resident of Opatów was betrothed to someone from another town, they were not to establish residence anywhere outside of Opatów without permission from the town owner. The enforcement of this matter was placed, in 1755, in the hands of the kahal. And, if they failed to be attentive, the sanction was to fall on them as well as on the offending parties.[153]

In fact, the point here was to protect the community from financial loss. Thus, while there was a general 1 percent tax on dowries, if the sum was transferred to another town, the proportion rose to 10 percent.[154] Careful records were to be kept by kahal officials. In May 1760, for example, the *parnas ha-ḥodesh* (the "warden of the month," that is, the elder who chaired the kahal), Wigdor, was instructed to prepare a list of women who had married and moved to other towns, noting how much they had paid, and bearing the signature of the rabbi.[155] In the kahal budget for the same year, the category of incidental income (*percepta akcydentalna*) included two entries of this type in which families paid a percentage of the dowry for a daughter who was moving away from the town. The first entry noted that Joel paid 16 ⅔ zloties for his daughter, who was moving to Ożarów. According to the second entry, Haim paid 80 zloties for his daughter, who moved to Głogów.[156] In the instructions for 1769, the town owner's concern was mainly with the wealthier members of the community, since the departure of their daughters might mean the transference of significant sums out of the town.[157] Certainly the three cases mentioned in the records of the 1770s all involved wealthy members of the community.

In 1776, two fathers-in-law were ordered to bring their sons-in-law back to Opatów within two weeks, on pain of a huge fine. "If they left with the knowledge of the kahal elders, these will be subject to a similar fine, and if the elders did not know, they will be fined for not fulfilling their duties."[158] In 1779, Lubomirski ordered that all of the property and notes—in fact the entire fortune—of another Jew be liquidated because he had left Opatów without informing the town owner.[159] The accused party was Eliezer, son of Yosef Landau. He had left Opatów to take up a rabbinical post in Turobin. Anyone moving out of town was required to negotiate a settlement with the

kahal. The arrangement had to be endorsed by the supervisor of the kahal (*attendent*), who was appointed by the town owner.[160]

Another, more benign, manifestation of the same purposes was the granting of 20,000 zloties in interest-free loans to victims of the fire of 1757. Thirty-one Christian residents received 4,000 zloties, and 128 Jews received 16,000 zloties, to help finance the reconstruction of their homes and businesses.[161]

The Town Owner's Power

What were the limits of the magnate's power? In what measure could he overcome resistance? From a legal point of view, no juridical appeal of an owner's decision was possible. Recent historiography has emphasized, however, the relative security and superior privileges of Jews in private towns, as opposed to crown cities.[162] By contrast, historians of the last generation stressed the dependence of Jews on the whims of the town owners in private towns and the *starostas* in crown cities.[163] Majer Bałaban, after describing the situation of Jews in crown cities where attempts to eliminate them from commerce and even to expel them were common at the beginning of the eighteenth century, wrote, "The private towns were no better, although the conditions of the struggle were better; here, the will of the *pan* decided without appeal . . . *łaska pańska na pstrym koniu jeździ* [an idiomatic expression meaning that one cannot depend on the lord's favor] . . . thus, each caprice or ill humor of the town owner could result in the worst unhappiness for the Jewish individual or even a whole community."[164] More recent historiography has not entirely abandoned this approach to the Jews' situation. Thus, while "the magnate owners generally willingly protected the Jews . . . [they] were exploited more by the *pan* than the other burghers, being dependent on the favor or ill favor of the lord."[165]

The foregoing review of the instructions and other actions of the owners of Opatów reveals certain limits of their power. The repetition of the demands for the expulsion of the poor and the continuing attempts to ensure that the sons and daughters of the wealthy pay a substantial tax before moving illustrate this. Indeed, the threat of Jews leaving constituted the most important limitation of the owner's power over them. Jews put their commercial, industrial, and managerial expertise in the service of the aristocrat in return for the peace and security and good order that he provided. The revenues they produced were their end of the bargain. If the town owner did not fulfill his obligations, Jews would demand changes, threaten to leave, or actually do so. Explicit threats of this kind are known in a number of towns.[166] In Opatów, too, at least once, Jews threatened the town owner in a similar way.

In an undated petition addressed to Sanguszko, the Jews asked him to have compassion and to reverse his recent order that the Jews bear two-thirds of

municipal expenses, and the Christians, one-third. This had reversed the earlier situation. "In past times, when there were merchants here who traded with Gdańsk, Breslau, and Amsterdam . . . we paid only one-third. Now, when several of the greatest merchants have declared themselves bankrupt and the rest carry on a small miserable trade . . . the burghers want us to pay two-thirds."

The petition went on to contrast the situation of the Jewish community with that of the Christians. They have gardens and fields in the suburbs, we have none and are confined to one street. They pursue many occupations; we have only our "miserable commerce." We pay taxes to the crown; they do not. We are dependent on credits obtained from the *szlachta,* and we must pay *wyderkafs* to the church; they have no debts. What's more, there are various towns where Jews live, particularly Rzeszów, where the Jewish merchants are prosperous but the Jewish community pays only one-fifth or one-sixth of the taxes. Please restore the old division of the burden, wrote the Jews of Opatów, "or else we shall be obliged, all of us, to leave." [167]

That the Jews, and particularly Jewish merchants and managers, might one day leave must have shadowed the calculations and decisions of the town owner. Surely, such a possibility acted as a brake on the town owner from acting out of mere whim or caprice.

EPILOGUE

The last owner of Opatów in the eighteenth century was Ignacy Potocki, a powerful magnate-aristocrat who was a leader of the progressive reform faction in the Polish parliament. He, at least formally, supported the proposals for reform of the Jews' situation formulated by the king's agent, the Abbé Scipio Piattoli, and others at the time of the four-year sitting of the Parliament (1788–92). Potocki's support seems to have been tactical, an effort to preserve his alliance with the monarch, who in turn seems to have seen the reform effort as a device through which to extort large sums of money from Polish Jews. [168]

In 1792, Piattoli was involved in gaining the support of the representatives of the Jews of Little Poland for one such reform proposal. The representative of Opatów was one of two, among fifteen, who was hesitating. Piattoli appealed for help to Potocki. The great magnate, however, declined, saying that the Jews would have to decide for themselves in accordance with their own interests. [169] One possible interpretation of this is, of course, that Potocki was being more than a little disingenuous. His own interests would be served best by no reform of the situation of the Jews, since this would best serve to preserve their dependence on him as town owner. And for the most part, Jews

in Poland preferred to cling to the status quo, as well. In this way, Jewish and magnate interests again coincided. As time went on, of course, Polish and Eastern European Jewry in general was to pay a heavy price for their links to what became, progressively, an outmoded economic-political system.

Afterword

Jan Ptaśnik, in an influential work on Polish urban history published in the early 1930s, mentioned the demand of the Christian artisans in Opatów that Jews belong to the guilds. The Jews, he went on to say, did not observe the guilds' monopolies, leading to the ruin of the guilds. Thus "the Jew" (and here he shifted his discourse to the level of generalization about Poland) contributed "in significant measure . . . to the decline of the Polish town." In this destructive activity, the Polish *szlachta* supported the Jews.[1] Given the evidence provided in the present study, it would seem likely that Ptaśnik's mean suggestion ought to be reversed. Without Jews, the Polish town might have declined much further than it did, the Polish economy might have collapsed, and urban life might have virtually disappeared except for Gdańsk, Warsaw, and German-dominated areas.

By the time of the events of the midseventeenth century, according to Simon Dubnow, Jews in Poland were made to realize, "that they would have to tread the same sorrowful path, strewn with the bodies of martyrs, that had been traversed by their Western European brethren in the Middle Ages."[2] Writing more than fifty years later, Bernard Weinryb characterized the relations between Jews and Christians in Poland as "more human" than the relations between Jews and their neighbors in Christian lands in Western Europe. This led, he wrote, to a "more favorable development of the Jewish group in Poland."[3] He ended a long consideration of Jewish attitudes with the judgment that the situation of Jews in historical Poland was neither "ideal nor intolerable."[4]

The present examination of the Jewish experience in Opatów in the eighteenth century has shown that broad characterizations, even as diverse in their import as those of Dubnow and Weinryb, have little application. Jewish life in the town was distinguished by its vitality and energy, so much so that

Jewish predominance in commerce and industry exceeded in its weight the numerical preponderance of Jews. While Jews faced continuing enmity from the clergy, the priests were unable to influence events to the disadvantage of the Jewish population. The town owners protected Jews even though they themselves may have found Jews distasteful. The alliance of interests was stronger than prejudice and religious intolerance. Christian town dwellers played a progressively more passive role in the life of the town in the course of the eighteenth century, leaving center stage to Jews.

Within the town, certain features characterized the Jewish population. They tended to live in their own quarter in large, multifamily dwellings. Early marriage and the custom of living in the home of the bride's parents was confined to the wealthier stratum. Most Jews were poor, though not so poor as the peasants, and there was a wealthy group of merchants and *arrendators* comprising about 10 percent of the adult male population, which dominated the affairs of the community. In the second half of the century, and particularly in its last third, Opatów Jews began to move to villages or to Warsaw and Brody, reflecting the economic decline of the region and the quest for gainful employment.

Through at least the first two-thirds of the century, the Jewish community in Opatów was dominated by the Landau family, which had influence not only in the town but also over a rather large region, particularly Little Poland and Ruthenia. The Landaus were typical of the Jewish aristocracy of eighteenth-century Poland. This aristocracy consisted of about fifteen or twenty families who held rabbinical and other leadership posts in most Jewish communities in Poland-Lithuania. The Landaus were neither the agents nor the lackeys of the magnate-aristocrats who owned the town. The town owners tended to defend the Landaus, but mainly because their wealth and influence in the Jewish community made them symbols of order, and because the town owners did not want such wealthy Jews to move elsewhere.

The town owners did not govern the town and its Jewish community on the basis of whim and caprice.[5] They sought to promote the economic well-being of the town and, for this reason, defended the interests of Jews who contributed to that well-being and, therefore, to the income of the town owners. Though the alliance was hardly between equal partners, it was an alliance created on the basis of interests shared by Jews and magnates. The less influential side, the Jews, was not entirely without recourse when the unspoken terms were not being met. They appealed, they petitioned, and they threatened to leave. Finally, as the economic conditions of the region worsened, many did leave. And that movement, particularly to Warsaw, signaled the beginning of the beginning of a new historical epoch. For most of the eighteenth century, however, the ties between Jews and their magnate

protectors served the interests of both. Jews lived mainly in private towns and made up at least half of the total urban population of Poland-Lithuania. Thus, any review of the history of the cities and towns of the Polish Commonwealth must study the experience of Jews and other Poles.

APPENDIX 1

The Privilege of the Jewish Community of Opatów

ALEKSANDER JANUSZ KSIĄŻE NA OSTROGU I ZASŁAWIU, HRABIA NA TARNOWIE, WOIEWODZIC KRAK:

Wszem wobec i każdemu z osobna komu by wiedzieć należało, do wiadomości ninejszym pisanie naszym podaiemy. Iż my między inszemi zwierzchności i łaski naszey **książęcey** skutkami to mianowicie upatrować zwykliśmy aby miasta miasteczka i wszyscy poddani nasi jako w najlepszym stanie zostali i do ich najlepszego rządu i kondycyjej mianowicie przez ten czas utrapiony przejść mogli. Dlategoż gdy Żydzi starsi miasta naszego Opatowa do nas przyszedłszy nisko i pokornie tak swoim, jako też wszytkich Żydów poddanych naszych opatowskich imieniem łaski naszey książęcey upraszali i suplikowali, abyśmy ich przy pewnych prawach i przywilejach zostawić i zachować raczyli i wiecznie potwierdzili i approbowali. Których praw i przywileiów, takowe iest od słowa do słowa opisanie.

Wladyslaw Dominik książe na Ostrogu i Zasławiu, hrabia na Tarnowie koronny naywyzszy koniuszy etc.

Oznajmujemy tym pisaniem naszym, iż produkowali przed nami Żydzi opatowscy poddani nasi przywileje od przodków świętej pamięci naszych dziedziców i panów Opatowa onym nadane, mianowicie **książęcia Jego Mości Pana krakowskiego dziada naszego,** de data we Ćmielowi die 4 Augusti, Roku **MDXCV,** którym przy wolnościach ich zwyczajnych zachowuję. A że te wolności niektóre przez ogien zaginęły, tedy suplikowali nam aby tak z pomienionego listu Jego Mości **Pana krakowskiego** jako i z listu **książęcia Radziwiła** który dla większego dowodu to słowo w słowo iest wpisany, wyrozumieliśmy.

The Privilege is found in Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych.

Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwił na Ołyce i Nieświeżu książe, marszalek nadworny wielkiego księstwa Litewskiego. Jawnie czyniem wszem wobec komu to wiedzieć należy, iz iako Żydowie miasta opatowskiego dowód na sprawę dali **książęciu Jego Mości Ostrogskiemu wojewodzie kijowskiemu etc.,** że zawsze wolność mieli w mieście Opatowskim szynkować wina y insze wszelakie picia przedawać towary swoie wszelakie każdego dnia w domach swych y na rynku w kramnicach, za która listowna dowód na sprawa otrzymali sobie list de data 24 Mai, anni **MDLXXI** od pomienionego **książęcia Jego Mości Ostrogskiego,** do którego my też się przychylając i nie chcąc z części naszey wolności dwoic dozwalamy Żydom opatowskim tego zupelnie co im w liście **książęcia Jego Mości** jest dołożono i czego z dawna w używaniu byli, nie chcąc im wolności i praw ich jak i inszym poddanym naszym ni w czym naruszać. Rozkazujemy wam namiestnikowi części naszej opatowskiey i inszym na po tym będącym namiestnikom, abyście im tych wolności uzywać piwa szynkować w domach i na rynku* przedawać dopuścili rozkazali. To przytym* upatrując* iż jako przed tym z tego pewne podatki i czynsze ci przerzeczeni Żydowie dawali i insze powinności na sobie niesli wedle wszytkich inszych mieszczań i poddanych naszych opatowskich tak i teraz takowe podatki i czynsze dawać i też powinności na sobie nosić* będą powinni. W czym wszytkim abyście ich wyżey pomieniony Panie Koniocki i inszy na po tym będący namiestnicy nasi opatowscy bronili koniecznie. A ku lepszemu tego wszystkiego świadectwu i pewności podpisaliśmy się na to ręką swą własną y pieczęć przycisnąć dali.

Dan w Warszawie, 23 maja, Roku 1571. **Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwił mp.**

Do tego produkowali listy **książęcia Jego Mości Konstantego** pomienionego **woiewody Kijowskiego etc.** którym także szynków różnego napoju i przedaży wszelkich towarów na rynku każdego dnia pozwala Żydom, de data w Krupicy Die 11 Aprilis, Roku 1575 do namiestnika pisany. Nad to pokazali nam przywilej od nas onym za powodem i przykładem wyżey opisanych praw im służących de data Opatovia die 30 Septembris, anno 1633 nadany, to w sobie zamykający,

Naprzód wolne budowanie i murowanie na gruncie ich bóżnica, szkoły, kierchowa i szpitala tak i domów do mieszkania. Po tym szynki wszelakich napoiów i wina garcem albo kwarta odprawować, towary rozmaite łokciem i funtem przedawać i inne handle prowadzić na każdy dzien w domach, w rynku, w kramnicach pozwolenie. W czym przeszkody od mieszczan zakazaliśmy, także bydła wszelkiego na rzeź bicia i sztukami w iatkach swych przedawania wolne nadaliśmy. Za co zł. 100 czynszu każdego roku skarbowi naszemu od nich naznaczyliśmy. Względem zaś inszych powinności czynszów i podatków, według dawnego trybu jako i mieszczanie chowaliśmy. Nadto sądy przy starszych ich jako z dawna zostawiliśmy z wolną appelacyją do sądu nasz-

ego nadwornego, jako o tym wszytkim szerzej jest pomienony przywiley opisany. **My tedy** pokorną ich suplikę przed nami uczyniona dobrze uważywszy, i prósbę ich iako słuszną* łaskawie* przyjąwszy,* pomienione wszytkie ich prawa i przywileie tak dawne jako i świeższe onym od świętej pamięci **książat i przodków naszych** nadane we wszytkich punktach, artykułach, kondycyjach władzę zwierzchności naszey nienaruszenie zachowujemy, aprobujemy, i konfirmujemy. Warując to, aby te prawa i przywileie ich wiecznymi czasy mocy wagę swoją bez żadnego naruszani[a] miały i inviolabiliter pod winami* wzwyz* pomienionych przywileiach wyrażonymi zachowane były. Na co dla lepszej wiary i pewności pieczęć naszą zawiesic rozkazaliśmy przy podpisie ręki Naszey własney. Datum w Opatowie dnia [?] Miesiąca Lipca Roku Pańskiego 1670.

[*In a different hand*]
To prawo Żydom opatowskim nadane we wszystkich punktach, klausulach, artykułach aprobuję, konfirmuję y ratyfikuję. Stosuiąc się jednak w niektórych punktach do świeżego prawa miastu odemnie nadanego, względem pewnych porządków i powinności między miastem a Żydami postanowionych w których akomodować się Żydzi z miastem powinni będą.
Dla lepszego tedy utwierdzenia tego prawa w rękę się własną przy powieszeniu pieczęci podpisuię. Datum w Baranowie die 7 Mai 1678 A. Dimitr książe Wisn' hetman wielki koronny mp.

[*In a different hand*]
To prawo konformuję* się i do waszych porządków w mieście Opatowie postanowionych in omnibus punctis et conditionibus in perpetuum aprobuję et in toto ratyfikuię co podpisem ręki własnej i przycisnieniem pieczęci moiej stwierdzam. Dan w Zamku Baranowskim die 5 Maj, 1710 anno. Alexander Dominik Lubomirski SS mp.

[*In a different hand*]
To prawo Żydom opatowskim nadane in omnibus punctis, articulis et clausulis aprobuję i we wszytkim ratyfikuię. Mając to jednak, ażeby w prowentach zamkowych i arendzie* miejskiej żadnego przez to nie były decesu i zatrudnienia. Która to konfirmuię dla większej wagi przy pieczęci moiey ręką własną stwierdzam. Dan in Dubno die 26 Januaris, 1721. Paweł książe Sanguszko W X L

*Reading uncertain.

[*In a different hand*]
To prawo Żydom miasta mojego Opatowa od antecesorów moich nadane i aprobowane wladzą moją panską dziedziczną in omnibus punctis et articulis aprobuję i utwierdzam non derogeindo sednuli, w ni w czym dyspozycyjom wszelkim respektem prowentów tak z arendy jako też i od kahału do skarbu moiego należących do tąd* . . . die 20 Julii, 1750 anno. Janusz książe Sanguszko Miecznik Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, starosta czerkaski mp.

[*In a different hand*]
Stosuiąc się do aprobacyi tych praw przez jasnie oswieconych książat antecesorów moich, konfirmuiąc się oraz do wszelkich porządków miastu Opatowi postanowionych in omnibus clausulis sed* prawa aprobuję warując jednak ażeby uciemiężeniem pospólstwa także z przeszkodą prowentów zamkowych i arędy miejskiej co wlasną zatwierdzam ręką.* Datum w pałacu opolskim, die 20 Aprilis, 1755 anno. A Lubomirski. L. GP Suscripsit M u p.

*Reading uncertain.

APPENDIX 2

Measures, Weights, and Money

An attempt to unify the Polish system of weights and measures began in 1764. The following was in effect during the eighteenth century and indicates simply rough relations between measures.

VOLUME

1 *beczka* = 36–72 *garnce.*
1 *barylka* = 6–28 *garnce.*
1 *achtel* = 9–62 *garnce.*
1 *garniec* = 4 *kwarti* = 3.77–6 liters.
1 *kwart* = 1.25–1.5 liters.

LENGTH

1 *bela* = 15–30 *postawów.*
1 *bunt* = 15 *postawów.*
1 *postaw* = 30–50 *łokci.*
1 *łokiec* = 0.5–0.59 meters.

WEIGHT

1 *cetnar* = 5 *kamieni.*
1 *kamień* = 32 *funtów.*
1 *funt* = 400 grams.

MONEY

The following reproduces the official monetary system as enacted in 1717 by the Polish parliament. It does not reflect subsequent changes or the rather chaotic situation of the actual circulation of coins in the eighteenth century, during which Poland was a case study of the operation of Gresham's law that bad coin drives out good coin.

1 ducat ("red" zloty) = 2.25 thalers = 18 Polish zloties.

1 thaler = 8 zloties.

1 zloty = 30 groszy.

1 grosz = 3 szelągi.

In Cracow and Lublin the average daily wage of a mason or a carpenter was between twenty-three and forty groszy.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Wyrobisz, "Power and Towns," pp. 612–13; Hundert, "Role of the Jews," p. 248; idem., "Jewish Community in Opatów," p. xxi.

2. In using the term *magnate-aristocrats,* I am trying, as the Yiddish expression has it, "to dance at two weddings." The imprecise but widespread use of the term *magnate* in Polish historiography has been criticized by Andrzej Kamiński, who suggests the term *aristocrat* is best used to denote the small, elite group of powerful families in Poland-Lithuania. See Kamiński, *"Szlachta."*

3. Dinur, "Darkah ha-historit," p. 198.

4. I prefer the term *Council of the Lands,* because the number of lands fluctuated so much, numbering three or four in the sixteenth century, and more than twenty in the eighteenth century. Halpern, *Yehudim,* p. 46.

5. For a survey of the historical literature, see Hundert and Bacon, *Jews in Poland.*

6. Hundert, "Polish Jewish History," p. 260.

7. Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel, *She'elot u-teshuvot,* "Even ha-ezer," qu. 4, p. 3b.

8. Dubnow, *Toledot ha-ḥassidut,* p. 102; Bałaban, *Historja Żydów,* vol. 2, p. 253.

9. Mahler, *Yidn,* vol. 1, p. 62.

10. See Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot,* p. 108.

11. "Qui nobiles in oppidis aut in villis suis iudaeos habent: per Nos licet, ut soli ex eis fructus omnes, et emolumenta percipiant: iusque illis, arbitratu suo dicant: verum ex quibus iudaeis, nullum ad Nos commodum pervenit, eos uti iudaeorum iure non permittimus, per Nos et Antecessores nostros concesso: neque de injurijs corum deferri ad Nos volumus. Ut ex quibus nullum commodum sentimus: hi etiam nullum in Nobis praesidium habeant collocatum." *Volumina Legum,* vol. 1, f. 550.

12. There were a few exceptions. See Bogucka and Samsonowicz, *Dzieje,* p. 395.

13. Bałaban, "Polskie Żydostwo," pp. 9–10. Compare Assaf, "Le-qorot ha-rabbanut," p. 35; Dubnow, *Toledot ha-ḥassidut,* pp. 9–12.

14. Smoleński, *Stan.* For a somewhat fuller discussion of the historiography, see Hundert, "Jews in Polish Private Towns," pp. xx–xxi.

15. Arch. Sang.; Akty Sang.; ADO.

16. Zbiór dokumentów; Arch. Pod., pp. 1–50; Arch. Pub.

17. Bałaban, "Ustrój kahału," pp. 24, 29, 31–33, 45–46; Frenk, "Le-toledot"; idem, *Ha-ʿironim;* Halpern, *Pinqas;* Kremer, "Participation," p. 21; Semiatycki, "Ḥezqat"; Sokolow, "Mi-pinqas"; idem, "Ḥaqirot."

18. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

19. Kiryk, *Opatów.*

CHAPTER 1
NUMBERS

1. Feldman, "Earliest," p. 66; Kiryk, *Opatów,* p. 29; Zbiòr dokumentów.

2. Pawiński, *Polska,* vol. 3, pp. 204, 341. Compare Kiryk, *Opatów,* p. 30.

3. Pawiński, *Polska,* vol. 3, pp. 204, 341; Vielrose, "Ludność," pp. 36–38.

4. Arch. Pod., pp. 11–50.

5. The first thirty-two are Lewek na gozdziowem, Iczkowa Stara, Lewek Doctorowicz, Dom na Doctor, Isaac, Abram, Izrael Koziarz, Jeleń, Lewek z Sidłowa, Bona (sic), Samuel, Zuzmanowszkie, Abram Stary, Moiżesz, Lipman Arendarz, z Falkowego, Mendlowszkie, Izrael Krakowczyk, Sara, Huiek (sic) Moiżesz, Aron, Jeleniowszki, Iczek, Heliasz, Wollff, Niedźwiedź, Jachim, Niedźwiedźowicz, Iczkowa, Cantor, Banas Pinkasz, Cantorek. The ten possible Jewish names are Ikub Kołodziey, Chmielarz, Joseph Sklarz, Joseph Kuśnierz, Łazarz, Andzlowszkie, Judzina, Marek Mydlarz, Markowicz, Simon Zak. The remaining sixteen names are Piątkowicz, Sywadz, z Tomkowskiego, Marianka, Piotr Koza, Snobelcziwskiego, Palinka, Sołowszkie, Bigasz, Sobieczowszkie, Kupisz, Niestożowski, Woitalowa, Gregorz Kował, Skowronek, Czechowskie.

6. Arch. Sk., oddział 1, ms. 67, pp. 53v, 54v; Arch. Sang., 170, 344.

7. The initial legislation exempted Jews under eight years old, but subsequently, the formula was changed to exempt children under ten and the poor supported by charity. *Volumina Legum,* vol. 4, p. 400, vol. 5, p. 314.

8. Guldon, "Ludność," p. 23; Szczypiorski, "Badania," pp. 60–61; Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp,* p. 196.

9. The figure for Jews in Pińczów in 1676 was 429, more than twice as many as were listed for Opatów. Arch. Sk., Oddzial 1, ms. 67, pp. 255v, 474v; Bib. Cz., 1099, p. 305. Why did the figures for Jews not fall off as sharply as those for Christians? The figures for the Sandomierz *województwo* as a whole show a diminution of about 46 percent in general but only a 21 percent loss for Jews. The diminution in the number of Jews in Opatów was 21.4 percent. Guldon, "Ludność," p. 23.

10. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 433, p. 206. In May 1721, the Christian municipality complained to Sanguszko that Jews had taken over a Christian street where they had never lived before. Akty Sang., 163/4.

11. ADO, I/14, I/58, I/66.

12. Arch. Sang., 428.

13. Neubauer. The author identified himself as a judge (*dayyan*) from Opatów and wrote, in his introduction, "ki nishʾarti levadi mi-kol . . . ha-golim mi-mdinat Polin." The manuscript can be dated about 1700. Compare Sokolow, "Ḥaqirot," p. 41. Also see Gierowski, "From Radoszkowice"; and *New Cambridge Modern History,* p. 698.

14. Homecki, *Produkcja,* p. 118.

15. In the eight main streets of the town, the loss from 1618 was about one-third.

For the clerical district in 1618, fifty-two houses were listed. If the same pattern applied, therefore, there would have been about thirty-five houses in the clerical districts in the early eighteenth century.

16. The figures were computed as follows: for the Christians, 3.5 × 190, and for the Jews, 108 × 1.8 × 4.4, or 187 × 4.4, plus 15 percent for underreporting. The Christian municipality complained in 1721 that there were often fifteen Jews in a house. Akty Sang., 163/4.

17. Arch. Sang., 428.

18. *"Opisanie Osiadłości Żydów w miejsce Opatowie."* ADO, I/110. There was also a Hebrew tax roll (*sekhum,* or *sympla*) prepared in that year, listing 371 taxpayers and dated 1 Iyyar, 5515.

19. Mahler, *Yidn,* vol. 2, tables 43 and 66. This was an average of 3.25 families, or 14.3 people per house. A 1769 inventory showed 155 Jewish houses and 194 Christian houses in Pińczów. R. Guldon, *Inwentarz,* p. 42.

20. Mahler, *Yidn,* vol. 2, tables 18, 29, 43, 45, 65.

21. ADO, I/114.

22. ADO, I/102.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Three people described as deceased on that list were active in 1764–65: Szaia Futernik, Jakob Kurnik, and Alexander Lubelski. ADO, I/88.

26. Both sources indicate that 359 Jewish "heads" lived in the villages surrounding Opatów.

27. ADO, I/91.

28. "W tey summie zostaiącey w Mieście więcey jak połowa ludzi poumierało y porozchodzi to się y ubodzy ktorzy nię maią sposobu wypłacenia." ADO, I/102.

29. ADO, I/79; I/102. See chapter 8 for descriptions of the town owner's attempts to expel the poor from the town.

30. ADO, I/102.

31. As follows: 485 + 20 percent × 4.4.

32. Carosis, *Reisen,* pp. 222, 238–39. Compare Gelber, "Foreign Tourists," p. 238.

33. Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel, *She'elot u-teshuvot,* "Even ha-ezer," qu. 4, p. 3b.

34. Max Weinreich suggested that the Yiddish pronunciation of the name of the town, with the stress receding toward the beginning of the word, reflected older Polish patterns of pronunciation. Weinreich, *History,* pp. 570–71.

35. Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel, *She'elot -teshuvot,* p. 3b.

36. Landau, *She'elot,* vol. 1, qu. 15, p. 5a.

37. The order demanding the collection of the capitation tax in 1766–67 directed that registers be prepared listing all householders but excluding teachers and the poor supported by charity: "nie wciągaiąc pomiędzy nich bakałarzów y z jałmużny żyiących." Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 83, p. lxxxv.

38. Guldon, "Źródła," p. 260; Guldon and Stepkowski, "Spis ludności"; Kartoteka materiałów, s.v. "Opatów." Compare Gelber, "Statistics."

39. Compare Korzon, *Wewnętrzne,* p. 298, which records 478 hearths in Opatów in 1788.

40. Kumor, "Nieznane," p. 58.

41. ADO, I/69.

42. Kartoteka materałów, s.v. "Opatów"; "Kolegiaty"—plebanin 17, chałupy bez ogrodów 5, razem 22; "Dziekańskie"—chałupy od gospodarzy 15, chałupy razem 8, razem 22; "Kantorskie" (*młyn*-1)—chałupy od gospodarzy 18, chałupy rzem. 7, razem 25.

43. It is reported that an Austrian list of the town's population indicates that 56 percent was Jewish. Kulczykowski and Frańcić, *Krakóu,* p. 139.

44. A capitation tax list of 1791 lists 299 names. ADO, II/123.

45. ADO, II/102.

46. ADO, II/123.

47. ADO, II/71; Kartoteka materiałów, s.v. "Opatów."

48. ADO, II/123.

49. Arch. Pub.

50. The number of entries for the most frequently listed towns is as follows: Lublin, 169; Cracow, 124; Opatów, 73; Pińczów, 70; Siemiatycze, 42; Koniecpol, 41; Przedbórz, 38; Wodzisław, 31; Szczekocin, 31; Lubartów, 30. Ibid. The prominence of Jews for Opatów in Warsaw was evident to contemporaries. See, for example, Eisenbach et al., *Materiały,* p. 51.

CHAPTER 2
THE TOWN AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY BEFORE 1700

1. The oldest name of the town was Żmigrod. *Słownik starożytności,* vol. 3, pp. 485–88; David, *Les Sources,* p. 211; Długosz, *Liber,* pp. 574–76; Bielowski, *Monumenta,* vol. 2, pp. 556, 573, vol. 3, p. 34; Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* p. 12; *Miasta Polskie,* p. 521. See also "Sprawozdanie"; Kiryk, *Opatów,* pp. 21–37.

2. Chlebowski et al., *Słownik,* p. 545; *Kodeks,* p. 1088. The same Leszko Czarny granted a privilege of location to Sandomierz in 1286. Buliński, *Monografija,* pp. 32–33.

3. Buliński, *Monografija,* pp. 53, 57, 65–67; Długosz, *Liber,* p. 576; Chlebowski et al., *Słownik geograficzny,* vol. 7, p. 595.

4. Trawicka, *Sejmik,* p. 16.

5. Długosz, *Liber,* pp. 154–55, 317, 574–84, 590–92, 633–36; idem, *Dzieje,* p. 14; idem, *Opera,* pp. 292, 294, 298–99.

6. Among the offices held by Szydłowiecki: kasztelan sandomierski, 1509; podkanclerz koronny, 1511; kanclerz wielki koronny, 1515; wojewoda, starosta krakowski, 1515; kasztelan krakowski, 1527. See Krzyszkowski, *Kanclerz;* Trojan, *Dzieje,* pp. 8, 17–18; Wiśniewski, *Dekanat,* p. 279.

7. Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 19.

8. See the relevant volumes of the *Polski słownik biograficzny;* Tarnawski, *Działalność,* pp. 34–35, 273. In Kiryk, *Opatów,* p. 25, there is some confusion about the sequence of owners. Zbiór dokumentów. For a transcription of the privilege, see appendix 1.

9. Władysław Dominik Ostrogski (died 1656); Aleksander Janusz Ostrogski (died 1682); Teofila Ludwika Ostrogska (died 1709); Teofila's first husband was Dymitr Jerzy Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1631–82), and her second husband was Józef Karol Lubomirski (died 1702). See Zbiór dokumentów; ADO, I/4, I/6, I/33, I/63.

10. Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 6.

11. Mazurkiewicz, *Jurydyki;* Kiryk, *Opatów,* p. 26; Akty Sang., 163/4; Arch. Sang., 441.

12. See Ben-Sasson, "Meqomah," pp. 14–16. To be sure, there were exceptions. See, for example, E. Horn, "Położenie," p. 17.

13. M. Horn, "Najstarszy"; Z. Guldon, "Źródła," p. 249.

14. Feldman, "Earliest References," p. 66; Kiryk, *Opatów,* p. 29.

15. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat,* pp. 306–09.

16. Zbiór dokumentów. Some years ago, I wrote that this privilege had been "lost during the Second World War." Hundert, "Jews in Polish Private Towns," p. xxv. Obviously, I was mistaken. The full text of the privilege is provided in appendix 1. For an extended discussion of general issues related to privileges given to individual communities, see Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges,* pp. 1–52.

17. Rościszewska, *Lewartów,* p. 31; Wyrobisz, "Polityka," p. 581; Hundert, "On the Jewish Community"; Opas, *Własność,* p. 97; Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges,* pp. 11–16.

18. Kiryk, *Opatów,* p. 29.

19. Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges,* pp. 86, 132, 301, 321–29; these communities were Kowal, 1578; Słuck, 1601; Dobromil, 1612; and Swarzędz, 1621. For twelve further instances, see Hundert, "Role of the Jews," p. 251.

20. On this subject, see Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges,* p. 33; Oprawko and Schuster, *Lustracja województwa lubelskiego,* p. 32; Morgensztern, "Regesty," p. 69.

21. Davidovitch, *Omanut,* p. 76. Compare *Katalog zabytków,* p. 50: "Dawna synagoga . . . [z] w. XVII."

22. Arch. Pod., pp. 11–50.

23. Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* p. 14; Chlebowski et al., *Słownik geograficzny,* vol. 7, p. 547; Sobieszczański, *Wycieczka,* p. 65.

24. Hundert, "Jewish Urban Residence." Compare Nadav, "Toledot," pp. 25–26, 48.

25. Aronius, *Regesten,* no. 704, p. 302.

26. Arch. Pod.; ADO, I/58, I/66, I/69.

27. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 433, p. 206.

28. Akty Sang., 163/4.

29. Ya'aqov ben Eliaqim Heilpron was addressed in this way by Me'ir Lublin. See Lublin, *She'elot,* qu. 15, p. 117.

30. See I. Lewin, "Protection," pp. 121–23, on the right to slaughter animals in accordance with custom. Also see Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges,* s.v. "bydło."

31. Both terms were found frequently in other privileges. See Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges,* s.v. "sądy."

32. Compare the attempt by the kahal of Żółkiew in 1622 to gain jurisdiction over a case in which there was a Christian plaintiff. Buber, *Qirya nisgavah,* p. 82.

33. Arch. Sang., 378, p. 5.

34. This central issue is taken up also by Rosman, in *Lords' Jews.* The decisions of the municipal courts also could be appealed to those of the town owner. Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 25.

35. Arch. Z., 2808, p. 31; Variae Civitates et Villae; Wyrobisz, "Ludność," p. 10. Compare Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 220, pp. 84f.; Baron, *Jewish Community,* vol. 3, p. 182, n34.

36. Arch. Sang., 378, pp. 6–10.

37. Hundert, "Role of the Jews"; Schipper, *Dzieje,* pp. 65–67.

38. Hundert, "Role of the Jews"; p. 254, n18, for a list.

39. As an example: in 1599, the Jews in Rzeszów were limited to seven houses. Błoński, *Pięć wieków,* pp. 97, 99; Przyboś, *Akta radzieckie,* p. xxxiv.

40. Pawiński, *Polska,* vol. 3, p. 204. See also the *szos* assessment for 1613, which had similar figures but which did not refer to Jews. ADO, I/71. For Opatów merchants in Gdańsk, see Kutrzeba and Duda, *Regestra,* pp. 39, 53, 61, 62, 80, 116, 122, 140, 152, 182, 220, 497, 590.

41. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat,* p. 307.

42. Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* p. 15; ADO, I/14.

43. Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* p. 22.

44. Trawicka, *Sejmik,* p. 17.

45. Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik,* pp. 142, 159, 160. Some say the debt was incurred by Mikołaj Ossoliński, owner of Klimontów. Guldon and Krzystanek, "Instruktarz," p. 173.

46. Arch. Pod.

47. ADO, I/71.

48. RCS, 110, pp. 2116–17.

49. RCS, 112, p. 444.

50. RCS, 114, p. 823.

51. RCS, 112, p. 444.

52. Guldon and Krzystanek, "Żydzi z miast"; Obuchowska-Pysiowa, *Udział Krakowa;* Arch. Sk., oddział 3, ms. 5, pp. 518–36.

53. Miczyński, *Zwierciadło;* Hundert, "Jews, Money and Society," pp. 264–65; idem, "Role of the Jews," pp. 270–74.

54. Obuchowska-Pysiowa, *Handel,* table 16.

55. Of the twenty-five most active exporters of hides, fourteen were Jews, including eight from Sandomierz and one from Pińczów. Of the thirteen exporters of wax, twelve were Jews. Of the seventeen dealers in cloth, twelve were Jews. Ibid., pp. 84, 141. For further comments on these data and on the role of Jewish merchants in commerce in Gdańsk, see Hundert, "Kivunei," pp. 227–29.

56. Małecki, *Związki,* p. 53.

57. He imported mainly textiles and Spanish saffron. Arch. Sk., oddział 3, ms. 5, pp. 525, 526.

58. Luaḥ shel shenat tav (5400).

59. RCS, 112, p. 444.

60. "Arendarzom naszym Opatowskim," ADO, I/63 (1617); "arendarzów opatowskich," ADO, I/71 (1615); "Żydom, arendarzom naszym opatowskim," Wiśniewski, *Dekanat,* p. 121 (1613). In 1620, Jojna Jachimowicz of Opatów held an *arenda* for several villages near Lublin. Horn, *Żydzi,* pp. 231–32.

61. "Ze wszytkiemi tych maiętności pożytkami, dochodami, czynszami, arendami młynami, stawami, poddanymi y ich powinnościami." ADO, I/63.

62. ADO, I/6.

63. They signed, in Hebrew: "Yiṣḥaq b. m. h. r. r. Avraham and Mordekhai Barukhs mi-Lublin." ADO, I/63.

64. ADO, I/6, I/33; Wiśniewski, *Dekanat,* p. 121.

65. Bastrzykowski, *Kolegiata,* p. 88; Guldon and Krzystanek, "Instruktarz," p. 174. The "constitution" of 1595 of the Cracow kahal forbade Jews to enter the city of

Cracow on Sundays or on Christian holy days. Bałaban, "Die Krakauer," vol. 10, p. 325. In Rzeszów, in 1627, Jews were forbidden to open their shops on Christian holy days. Błoński, *Pięć wieków,* p. 99. On the other hand, in Dubno in 1699, Jews were permitted by the town owner to open their shops on Sundays and minor holidays. *Regesty i nadpisi,* vol. 2, p. 372. On the host desecration charge and subsequent riot in Sandomierz in 1639, see Guldon and Krzystanek, "Żydzi i Szkoci," pp. 531–33.

66. There were trials of this sort in 1630 in Sandomierz and in Przemyśl, in 1631 and 1635 in Cracow, in 1636 in Lublin and Uhnów, and in 1639 in Łęczyca. M. Horn, *Żydzi,* pp. 109, 162; Bernfeld, *Sefer,* pp. 19ff.; Bałaban, *Historja Żydow,* vol. 1, pp. 180, 181; idem, *Die Judenstadt,* p. 34.

67. Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik,* p. 236.

68. "W Wielki Piątek nie mają z domów wychodzić ani okien mieć otwartych." Groicki, *Porządek,* p. 59.

69. Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* pp. 31–32; Lublin, *She'elot,* qu. 15, p. 11.

70. L. Lewin, "Deutsche," p. 81; Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 42, p. 15, and the references there; Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* pp. 31–32.

71. Yosef ben Mordekhai, *Sefer she'erit yosef,* qu. 60.

72. The question was whether a young man, captured by Muslims (Tatars?) after he visited a Muslim prostitute and threatened with execution or forced conversion, must be redeemed by the community and, if so, whether the amount paid may exceed the value of the young man's worldly goods. Lublin, *She'elot,* qu. 15.

73. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 41, p. 15.

74. Moshe ben Zevulun Eli'ezer, *Zikhron moshe,* and Yehoshu'a Falk, *Me'irat eynayim.* See Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 76, p. 24, no. 926, p. 490.

75. Ya'aqov Qopelman, *Omeq halakha;* Delakrut, *Ḥiddushei halakhot;* Shapira, *Be'er.*

76. Moshe ben Avraham, *Solet neqiah;* idem, *Sefer mateh moshe* (Cracow, 1599); idem, *Ho'il moshe* (Prague, 1612); idem, *Hanhagat.* See Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* pp. 32–33; Slonik, *She'elot,* qu. 46. Compare Shulman, *Authority and Community;* pp. 136, 217.

77. Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 33; *She'elot u-teshuvot ha-ge'onim,* qu. 39.

78. Dembitzer, *Kelilat yofi,* 26v, 329v; L. Lewin, "Deutsche," p. 112.

79. Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 14.

80. Yehuda-Leib ben Moshe, *Ziz shadai;* Mordekhai Merkil *Mora de-ko;* Heilperin, *Ahavat ṣiyon;* Gottleib, *Ahavat ha-shem; Shulḥan arukh;* Ya'aqov ben Yiṣḥaq, *Peirush al ha-massorah* (in the 2d ed., the approbation was dated, 1649); Tukhfirer, *Naḥlat ṣevi.* Compare Halpern, *Pinqas.*

81. Dembitzer, *Kelilat yofi,* pt. 2, 8v, 19v–20r.

82. See, in general, *Polska w okresie;* Czapliński, *O Polsce;* Smoleński, *Przewrót.*

83. See Kersten, *Stefan Czarniecki;* Wimmer, *Wojsko.*

84. Shatzky et al., *Gezeres takh;* Halpern, *Yehudim,* pp. 212–76, and the sources cited there. See also Kowalska, *Ukraina.*

85. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 207, p. 78. Why were only "males from age eighteen and females from age fifteen" obliged to fast? See also Shmeruk, "Gezerot."

86. Katz, "Bein tatnu."

87. First published in Venice in the seventeenth century, the work was reprinted twice in Gurland, *Le-qorot:* vol. 5-6, pp. 9–16; vol. 7, pp. 17–28. The text is clearly corrupt, and when Bernfeld recopied it yet again in his *Sefer ha-dema'ot,* pp. 141–57,

"he added further confusions and omissions." Halpern, *Yehudim*, p. 213, n8. It is ironic that, just before the Swedish invasion, a portion of the Jews' capitation tax, which was paid to various army units, was paid "na dragonia Stefana Czarnieckiego." Halpern, *Pinqas*, no. 15, p. xii.

88. Nisenbaum, *Le-qorot*, p. 141; Kandel, "Rzeź Żydów"; L. Lewin, "Die Judenverfolgungen," pp. 92–93.

89. Is this also the explanation for the fact that Lewin's article, cited above, is the only general treatment of the subject in Jewish historiography? As Halpern remarked in 1952, research in Swedish military and other archives would probably add much to knowledge of the fate of the Jews in Poland during the *potop*. Halpern, *Yehudim*, p. 268, n7. Kersten, *Stefan Czarniecki*, did utilize Swedish materials, but he did not mention Jews.

90. Kersten, *Stefan Czarniecki*, pp. 153, 260–61. Collaboration with the enemy was the pretext for the expulsion of the Arians in 1658. See Janusz Tazbir in *Polska w okresie*, vol. 1, pp. 249–301. Also see "Danger of Expulsion of the Jews from Poland," in Halpern, *Yehudim*, pp. 266–76. Compare Yaʿaqov ben Yeḥezqel, *Sefer shem yaʿaqov*, p. 266.

91. Jemiołowski, *Pamiętnik*, pp. 86–87.

92. Ibid., "którzy im we wszystkich okazjach do rabowania dworów i kościołow nie tylko pomocnikami ale i motorami byli," p. 87; see also ibid., p. 89. The notion that Jews were likely to be spies and in league with an enemy had a long pedigree in Europe by the seventeenth century. In Poland, the notion appeared during the century before the Swedish invasion and persisted afterward. See for example, Podgórski, *Pomniki*, p. 112 (1646); Grabowski, *Ojczyste*, vol. 2, p. 247 (1673); Bib. Oss., ms. III/486, pp. 111–11v.

93. Halpern, *Yehudim*, pp. 269–70. Compare Pufendorf, *De rebus*, p. 138; Bałaban, *Historja Żydów*, vol. 2, pp. 4–5; Horn, *Powinności*, p. 109. There was at least one case of several hundred Jews fighting alongside their Christian neighbors against the Swedes—at Przemyśl. See ibid., p. 111; Halpern, *Yehudim*, p. 270; Kubala, *Wojna szwecka*, p. 283.

94. Kandel, "Rzeź Żydów." Halpern was undoubtedly correct in emending the date presented by Kandel, reading 5416 instead of 5415, that is, April 1656 instead of April 1655. *Yehudim*, p. 269.

95. Gurland, *Le-qorot*, vol. 7, p. 27. Bernfeld, for some reason, read this sentence, "And almost all were killed *in their house of prayer.*" *Sefer*, p. 156. See also L. Lewin, "Die Judenverfolgungen," p. 93.

96. Kersten, *Stefan Czarniecki*, pp. 260, 261, 264; *Polska w okresie*, vol. 1, p. 189; J. Wimmer, *Wojsko*, p. 109.

97. *Akta grodzkie*, vol. 10, no. 4594, p. 277 (April 22, 1656).

98. Kersten, *Stefan Czarniecki*, pp. 336, 337, 339–40; *Polska w okresie*, vol. 1, p. 392.

99. Sobieszczański, *Wycieczka*, p. 30. Compare Kubala, *Wojna brandenburska*, p. 150.

100. Halpern, *Yehudim*, pp. 266–76; *Akta grodzkie*, vol. 10, no. 4665, p. 280; Halpern, *Pinqas*, no. 17, p. xviii.

101. Nisenbaum, *Le-qorot*, p. 141; Wettstein, *Divrei ḥefeṣ*, p. 15.

102. Gurland, *Le-qorot*, vol. 7, p. 27.

103. The *sejmik* met at Ptkanów in September of that year. Trawicka, *Sejmik,* p. 18. Compare Jemiołowski, *Pamiętnik,* p. 49.

104. *Polska w okresie,* vol. 1, pp. 351–64.

105. Oprawko and Schuster, *Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego,* passim. In Zwoleń, the number of houses was reduced by almost two-thirds between 1629 and 1661. Szczygiel, "Dzieje miasta," pp. 72, 75.

106. ADO, I/35.

107. Ibid.; Arch. Pod.

108. The date of the entry was 28 Ellul, 5422 (September 12, 1662). Sokolow, "Ḥaqirot," p. 41.

109. Manikowski, "Zmiany"; Mączak, "Problemy," pp. 89, 104; Nadav, "Qehillat"; Weinryb, *Jews of Poland,* pp. 181–205.

110. Schipper, *Dzieje,* pp. 149–94; Hundert, "Role of the Jews," pp. 247, 269, and the references there. See also references in n109.

111. The extent to which this phenomenon may be correlated with the rise of the *hofjuden* in central Europe awaits systematic investigation. For now, see Schipper, *Dzieje,* pp. 174, 185–90, and the sources cited there, as well as, Israel, *European Jewry.*

112. Manikowski attributed the monochromatic picture of the period in Polish historiography not to the lack of sources but to the a priori assumptions of historians, "Zmiany," p. 774.

113. Perhaps this is the place to say that I found no reference to Shabbetai Ṣevi or the Sabbatian movement in the few sources related to Opatów during the 1660s and 1670s.

114. Halpern, *Pinqas,* nos. 333, 334, pp. 140–42; no. 355, p. 152.

115. Brilling, "Jüdische Messgäste"; Weinryb, "Yehudei." Compare Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 39, p. xxxvi, reference to an Opatów Jew in Breslau in 1700.

116. Bałaban, *Historja Żydów,* vol. 2, p. 109; Schipper, *Dzieje,* pp. 173–77.

117. Freudenthal, *Leipziger,* pp. 171, 173. Compare Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 385, p. 169; no. 484, p. 227; no. 533-37, p. 256. In 1670, a Joel Banaszowicz of Opatów, in partnership with Marcus Banas of Cracow, imported 700 lemons and other goods. RCS, 115, pp. 233–34.

118. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 873, p. 460; Bałaban, "Ustrój kahału," p. 45; Baron, *Jewish Community,* vol. 2, pp. 256–59; Weinryb, "Qavim le-toledot." And see Halpern's critique of Weinryb in "Review of Meḥqarim," pp. 155–56.

119. Bałaban, "Ustrój kahału."

120. The *korobka* rates of 1665 were **tallow,** 1 *kamień,* 5 tynf; **soap,** 1 *wór,* 6 groszy, 1 tynf; **wax,** 1 *kamień,* 2 groszy, 1 szeląg; **cloth,** per zloty profit, 2 groszy, 2 szelągi; **wine,** 1 *beczek,* 2 zloties; **mead,** 1 *beczek,* 6 groszy, 2 szelągi; **vodka,** 2 *garniec,* 5 szelągi; **anise,** 1 *kamień,* 5 szelągi; **cows,** each, 4 groszy; **bulls,** each, 8 groszy; **calves** and **lambs,** each, 1 groszy; **salted fish,** 1 *beczek,* 50 groszy; **herring,** 1 *beczek,* 15 groszy; **oats,** 1 *korec,* 1 szelągi; **wheat** (ground), 1 *korec,* 5 szelągi; **salt,** 1 *beczek,* 5 groszy; **artisans,** per zloty profit, 6 szelągi; **arendars,** per 100 zloties *czynsz,* 12.5 groszy; **any good purchased,** per 100 zloties, 20 groszy; **any good exchanged,** per 100 zloties, 10 groszy; **purchase in one place and sale in another,** per 100 zloties, 20 groszy; **purchase and sale in the same place,** per 100 zloties, 10 groszy; **ox-hides,** each, 1 grosz; **cowhides,** each, 2 szelągi; **sheepskins,** each, 1 szeląg; **calf, lamb, or goat hides,** each, 1 tynf.

121. Hundert, "Kivunei hitpatḥut," pp. 228–29.

122. Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* pp. 41–47; Bałaban, *Historja Żydów,"* vol. 1, p. 262; Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 268, p. 110; no. 270, p. 112.

123. M. Horn, "Król Jan III," p. 15.

124. Freudenthal, *Leipziger,* p. 171.

125. For more on the Landau family, see chapter 7. The Heilperin family also had a representative in Opatów before the end of the seventeenth century. He was Avraham ben Binyamin Wolf, whose father and grandfather were leaders of the Council of the Lands. Eisenstadt and Weiner, *Daʿat qedoshim,* pp. 57–61; Halpern, *Pinqas,* s.v. Avraham ben Eliʿezer Lipman Heilperin, Binyamin Wolf R. Avrahams. About 1712, Meʾir ben Binyamin Wolf Heilperin became rabbi of Opatów.

126. ADO, I/63, I/71, II/99.

127. Zbiór dokumentów.

128. On Mendel's death, financial documents relating both to the community and to the *galil* were found among his papers. ADO, I/108.

129. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 445, p. 211; no. 488, p. 230.

130. Qonqi is quoted in Yaʿari, *Sheluḥei,* p. 476. The identification of Mendel (Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 18) seems doubtful.

131. ADO, I/108.

132. For the text of the inventory, see Hundert, "Security and Dependence," p. 12. On Icko, see Freudenthal, *Leipziger,* p. 171; ADO, I/91, I/108; Akty Sang., 122/26.

133. ADO, I/72; Arch. Sang., 378. There was also an effort to streamline and reduce the number of guilds. For example, the coopers, joiners, harness makers, turners, glaziers, saddlers, and purse makers (*miechownicy*) were all to be members of the guild of *paśniczy.*

134. ADO, I/72. The existence of these joint guilds in Opatów is mentioned in Kremer, "Participation," p. 21. See also Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* pp. 34–36. And compare the privilege to the Jews of Tarnopol issued by Józef Potocki in 1740, which also provided for joint guilds. Korngruen, *Tarnopol,* col. 27.

135. ADO, I/73, I/122.

136. Arch. Sang., 378.

137. ADO, I/72. For Lubomirski's insistence in 1754 that the Jewish tailors' annual payment be to the guild and not to the church, see ADO, I/73.

138. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 433, p. 206.

139. Ibid., p. 546.

140. That is, lest a surprising and unnatural situation arise. Deuteronomy 28:43; Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 47a.

141. Frenk, "Le-toledot ha-ḥazaqah," pp. 244 (1670), 242 (1678), 245 (1683), 243 (1685), 246 (1686). Compare Buber, *Qiryah nisgavah,* p. 87.

142. The privilege of the Jewish community in Tarłów, as confirmed in 1665, provided that appeals of decisions in local cases between Jews be brought before "starszych ziemskich opatowskich." Arch. Z., 2808, p. 31. See Wyrobisz, "Ludność," p. 10.

143. According to the ruling, he had been rebuked and warned more than once to stop his money-changing operations, particularly at fairs and *sejmik* meetings. He had been threatened with expulsion, but "he added sin to sin" and continued to endanger

the community, doing deeds that "a Jew ought not to do." Frenk, "Le-toledot ha-ḥazaqah," p. 243.

144. The matter of the ranking of communities within the autonomous Polish Jewish organs awaits further research. The communities subject to Opatów were Baranów, Dzików, Iwaniska, Klimontów, Kolbuszowa, Mielec, Ostrowiec, Ożarów, Rudnik, Rzuchów, Sandomierz, Sokołów, and Tarłów. Variae Civitates et Villae, p. 255/271 (1699); Bałaban, *Historja Żydów,* vol. 1, p. 351; Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 11.

145. Bałaban, *Die Judenstadt,* pp. 29–30, 34.

146. Trawicka, *Sejmik,* p. 39.

147. Ibid. And see the detailed description of a *sejmik* tumult in 1733 in Gierowski, *Rzeczpospolita,* pp. 131–36.

148. Frenk, *Ha-ʿironim,* p. 48; Sokolow, "Mi-pinqas," p. 142; Bursztyn, "Di apter yidn," p. 121; idem, "Żydzi opatowscy," p. 9. Compare Leszczyński, "Ekspensy," pp. 185–89.

CHAPTER 3
JEWS AND OTHER POLES

1. See the material assembled for a different purpose by Rosman, "Dimuyo." And see, in particular, the introduction to Margoliot, *Sefer ḥibburei,* cited by Rosman, where the author was at great pains to distinguish between the Jews of German lands and "the people of Poland." Compare, also, Hundert, "Advantage to Peculiarity?" pp. 25, 28; Jellinek, "Qorot," p. 19. And see "a true story I heard about a man of Poland who was living in German lands and transgressed by cutting off his beard; the other men from Poland rebuked him." Yishaq ben Ben-Ṣiyon, *Sefer mikhlal yofi,* p. 9b.

2. "Il fait souligner—notre bourgeoisie n'ait pas formé, comme cela avait lieu en Europe Occidentale, une auto-conscience dévelopée, depassant le cadre d'une seule ville." Bogucka, "Les villes," p. 161.

3. For this reason the characterization of eighteenth-century Jews as "non-Polish" in a recent work on Polish urban history must be judged profoundly anachronistic. Bogucka and Samsonowicz, *Dzieje,* p. 475.

4. Tazbir, "Polish." There seems no need to discuss the peasants in this context. As late as the twentieth century, many responded to surveys on nationality with the word meaning "from here."

5. The letter to his parents in 1790 by Avraham Naḥman ben Yaʿaqov Moshe Loewenstam is quoted in Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 70.

6. Shemaryah ben Moshe, *Taqanata de-moshe,* "mishqal ṭov le-ḥayyim," para. 39. Also cited by Shaḥar, "Biqoret," p. 28.

7. "Przyzwyczaionym patrzyć na naszych Icków i Moszków siedzących po karczmach i pospólstwo rozpaiących, dziwno nam będzie ludzi tegoż narodu i wiary tak pożytecznych i oświęconych w innych krajach." *Gazeta narodowa i obca,* no. 37 (1791), as cited by Ringelblum, "Żydzi," pp. 42–43. Compare the similar remark, though framed somewhat more positively, of Mateusz Butrymowicz in 1789, in Eisenbach et al., *Materiały,* p. 80.

8. Compare Hundert, "Advantage to Peculiarity?"; idem, "Some Basic Characteristics."

9. Margoliot, *Sefer ḥibburei,* pp. 3a, 4a.

10. *Volumina Legum,* vol. 6, pp. 119, 124–25, 286.

11. Hundert, "Implications." For one example, see the prohibition of Jews having Christian wetnurses, in *Volumina Legum,* vol. 5, pp. 286, 399; Bałabam, "Die Krakauer," vol. 11, p. 101. For more, see Goldberg, "Poles and Jews," pp. 252–53.

12. A recent analysis of twenty-nine diaries of noblemen in Poland-Lithuania during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries found a pronounced tendency to xenophobia, in general, and acute antipathy to Jews, in particular: "najostrzej niechęć . . . w stosunku do Żydów." Partyka, "Szlachecka," pp. 79–80. At the end of the seventeenth century, the *sejmik* of the Sandomierz *województwo,* which met at Opatów, justified not putting Christians in the service of Jews because Jews were "blasphemers of the Christian faith." Grodziski, *Ludzi luźni,* p. 48; compare Trawicka, *Sejmik,* pp. 174–76.

13. Cited by Mahler, *Toledot,* p. 334. Compare Pęckowski, *Chrzanów,* p. 147.

14. Baranowski, *Życie,* p. 113.

15. Bogucka, "Les villes," p. 166. And see Bogucka and Samsonowicz, *Dzieje,* p. 574. As noted earlier, there is, in this latter work, a breathtaking reduction of the significance of Jews in the urban history of the commonwealth. The same remarkable feature characterizes Topolski, *Dzieje.*

16. "Je me suis fixé pour règle de ne jamais évoquer dans mes études sur la culture polonaise du XVIe siècle les Juifs . . . qui formaient un monde à part." Backvis, "Comment," p. 255.

17. See, for example, Katz, "Bein tatnu," p. 330.

18. Kartoteka materiałów, s.v. "Opatów."

19. Yiṣḥaq ben Ben-Ṣiyon, *Sefer mikhlal yofi,* p. 38b.

20. Mordekhai ben Naftali, *Pitḥei Yah,* p. 25a, indicated that merchants felt themselves wiser than the scholars: "she-einam yodᶜim le-dabber ᶜim anshei ha-ᶜolam . . . le-dabber be- laᶜazei safah kemotam."

21. See the references in Hundert, "On the Jewish Community," p. 364, n49.

22. de Vries, *European Urbanization,* p. 184. Compare Bairoch, "Urbanization," pp. 261–62.

23. Żuchowski, *Proces,* p. 105. ADO, I/71. And see the testimony at a trial in 1666: Zieliński Contra Judaeos Opatoviensis: "quod cum vos Judaei, non modo sanguini Christiano, immo verum etiam substantiis a bonis Catolicorum intantes eosdem . . . convenistis." Dekrety Trybunału Koronnego w Lublinie. Quoted in Bałaban, "Sabataizm," p. 71.

24. "Le-qapitulah gedolah de-poh a"y ha-dzekan, maḥmat inyan ha-yaduᵓa, 1000 zehuvim, revaḥim mi-zeh, 40 zehuvim." Nahum Sokolow Collection; ADO, I/71.

25. Żuchowski, *Proces,* pp. 86, 328.

26. "Zaczeli byli czynić quares ale ustali skoro im Żydzi gębę zatkali." ADO, I/71.

27. Żuchowski, *Proces,* pp. 89, 224.

28. ADO, I/71.

29. Ibid.; Żuchowski, *Proces,* p. 83. "W Opatowie Barana w koszuli śmiertelnej y kryzach Żydowskich na kierkucie zakopali."

30. Estimates of the number of executions for witchcraft in Poland during the eighteenth century vary between one and ten thousand! Tazbir, "Procesy"; Baranowski, *Procesy;* Dąbrowska-Zakrzewska, *Procesy; Nietolerancja,* pp. 119–87. On the prevalence of such beliefs in the upper classes, see Partyka, "Szlachecka."

31. Sabean, *Power,* pp. 174–98.

32. ADO, I/71.

33. These were, principally, that he imposed extortionate taxes and payments, judged cases and imposed fines arbitrarily, favored the rich, was a fornicator who ordered women to come to him, permitted market day to be held on Sunday, and in sum, "porządku nie masz."

34. The charges were, mainly, that they were impious and their courts corrupt.

35. "Psze skurwy synu bodaieś sto diabłów ziadł." ADO, I/71. In 1759, church officials demanded of the Jews of Chrzanów that "wobec kapłana idącego do chorego . . . okazywać uszanowanie." Peckowski, *Chrzanów,* p. 147. By the way, if the quotation was based on reality, it indicates that Kalman could at least curse eloquently in Polish!

36. Żuchowski, *Proces;* Guldon and Krzystanek, "Żydzi i Szkoci." Bałaban, *Letoledot,* vol. 1, pp. 55–56.

37. The expenses involved were recovered through a special tax collected from all members of the community. Sokolow, "Ḥaqirot," p. 44.

38. Bursztyn mistakenly linked the events described in the *pinqas* in 1703 with those of 1705. "Żydzi opatowscy," p. 9. idem, "Di Apter," p. 121.

39. One kahal expenditure was explained as follows: "le-faṣot et ha-qozaqim shelo yelkhu derekh qehilatenu." Frenk, *Ha-ᶜironim,* p. 49.

40. Otwinowski, as translated in Gierowski, "From Radoszkowice," p. 218.

41. Ibid.; Sokolow, "Mi-pinqas," p. 137.

42. Arch. Sang., 378 (1708).

43. See the following cases: Russian troops, 1767–68, ADO, I/62; Bar confederates, 1770, 1771, 1772, ADO, I/61; Russian troops, 1771–72, ADO, I/38; Prussian troops, October 1771, ADO, I/38; Prussian and Polish troops, 1775, ADO, I/115.

44. Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/2, I/76; Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy"; idem, "Di Apter," p. 121; Frenk, *Ha-ᶜironim,* p. 48; Sokolow, "Mi-pinqas," p. 142.

45. ADO, I/76; Frenk, *Haᶜironim,* p. 48.

46. ADO, I/109.

47. Arch. Sang., 441; ADO, I/76.

48. In 1752, the *gubernator's* expenses for traveling to Sandomierz to file a claim regarding robberies that had occurred at the time of the Easter procession were paid by the kahal. ADO, I/109.

49. Arch. Sang., 441; ADO, I/76.

50. "Ponieważ chłopi że wsiów przyjechawszy na targ poprzedawszy zboża, popiwszy się wielkie chałasy robią i bunty zmawiają się, nie tylko od pachołków którzy skarbu pańskiego i arendy pilnują, ale i mieszczań pałkami biją iako się trafiło. Iż u Żydówki szkody porobili, młodszych czechowych pobili aby mocniejsze warty u Pana Burmistrza były. . . . Dla ostrożności naznaczamy aby zawsze co niedziela stali cechowi, do czego powinni Żydzi swoich ludzi dać dwie części, a my katolicy trzecią część, aby się takie rozterki w mieście nie działy," quoted in Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 31.

51. ADO, I/88.

52. ADO, I/91, I/114.

53. ADO, I/125.

54. Sulima, *Historya,* p. 110, n4. The author pointed out that the entry in the communal minutebook noting the expenses involved in sending the observer to Lwów

was dated 1757. He suggested that this was an error. The Polish translation of that budget, also dated 1757, rendered *viquaḥ* as *kongres*. The context was a report of expenditures over four years (1756–59). Although there was an earlier debate with the Frankists in the year 1757, it was held in Kamieniec-Podolsk. Thus it seems likely that Sulima was correct in his emendation. ADO, I/111. Compare Bałaban, *Skizzen*, p. 70. And see Goldberg, *Ha-mumarim*, or idem, "Żydowscy." And compare Eisenbach et al., *Materiały*, p. 180. The case of a late eighteenth-century "Spinoza of Opatów" is discussed in chapter 5.

55. In 1707, Hersz Hasklewicz (Ṣevi Hirsh ben Yeḥezqel Landau) and, in 1775, Marek Rabinowicz (Mordekhai Babad) translated certain documents. ADO, I/74, I/108.

56. The indictment added, for some reason, "a do tego że ten Żyd maiąc żone wielkie wszeteczeństwa porobiel (!)." Akty Sang., 126/12. Bogucka listed opulent costumes, carrying a saber, and "la tenue orgueilleuse" among the types of Sarmatian gentrylike behavior imitated by the burghers. See Bogucka, "Les villes," p. 167.

57. Akty Sang., 122/26.

58. Akty Sang., 163/4.

59. ADO, I/88.

60. Bogucka, "L''attrait.'" And see my comments thereon: Hundert, "Advantage to Peculiarity?" pp. 36–37.

61. The three rabbinic authorities were the communal rabbi, Aharon Moshe Yaʿaqov of Cracow, Alexander Sender Meisels of Opatów, and Avraham ben Yaʿaqov of Pińczów. ADO, I/42.

62. Arch. Sang., 378.

63. To overcome the prohibition on carrying between domains on the Sabbath, a blending of domains was achieved by marking off the whole of the Jewish neighborhood with a wire or a fence, or with some combination of methods. Compare Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges*, p. 166.

64. Yiṣḥaq ben Ben-Ṣiyon, *Sefer mikhlal yofi*, p. 12a.

CHAPTER 4
JEWS IN THE ECONOMY

1. ADO, I/69, I/102, I/110. Mahler, *Yidn*.

2. ADO, I/75, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje*, p. 528.

3. "W kunszcie garbarskim y szewskim magistra wydoskonalonego." ADO, I/74.

4. Arch. Sang., 526.

5. Hundert, "Role of the Jews," pp. 261–62. Compare Schipper, *Dzieje*, pp. 103, 153, 196 (grain), 151 (wool); Gelber and Ben-Shem, *Sefer Zolqvah*, col. 54 (grain); Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges*, p. 333 (grain); Nadav, "Toledot," p. 75; Guldon *Wybór źródeł*, pp. 107–08 (hides); Pęckowski, *Dzieje*, pp. 263–64 (hides).

6. Arch. Sang., 378.

7. Akty Sang., 163/4. And see there the complaint of the bakers' guild: "now only Jews bake."

8. Arch. Sang., 526.

9. Ibid., before 1737.

10. ADO, I/110.

11. Ibid.

12. Akty Sang., 163/4; Arch. Sang., 378; Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* pp. 34–35. This passage was cited, on the basis of Fudalewski, by Ptaśnik, *Miasta,* pp. 356–57. See, also, the clause in the privilege to the Jews in Tarnopol in 1740 to the effect that Jewish artisans were to be registered in Christian guilds. Korngruen, *Tarnopol,* col. 27. In general, see Kremer, "Participation."

13. Kremer, "Participation," p. 21.

14. ADO, 1:73.

15. Information in this paragraph from ADO, I/63, I/74, I/110, I/122, I/125.

16. ADO, I/125.

17. Arch. sang., 378 (1708).

18. ADO, I/42 (1756); I/74 (1776); I/73 (1789). Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 620.

19. ADO, I/75, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 528.

20. Schipper, *Dzieje,* pp. 208–10; Opas, "Sytuacja," pp. 15–17; Hundert, "Kivunei," p. 234; Goldberg, "Ha-mishar," pp. 11–13.

21. A small collection of six Polish calendars, published during the first half of the eighteenth century, is found in one file in the Sanguszko collection in Cracow. Opatów fairs were listed in only three, those published in Lwów in 1740 and 1742 and in Cracow in 1741. Akty Sang., 458/9. Hebrew calendars, however, published in Dyhernfürth between 1741 and 1789, did list the November 11 fair in Opatów. *Luaḥ . . . im kol.* The Opatów fair was not listed in the Hebrew calendars published in Nikolsburg in 1725. *Luaḥ shel shenat* [5]*486,* nor were they listed in Szkłow in 1792: *Luaḥ mi-shenat* [5]*553.*

On the other hand, the Opatów fair, along with three in Sandomierz, was listed in a calendar published in Lwów in 1799. *Luaḥ shel shenat* [5]*559.* A Hebrew calendar published in Warsaw for the year 1786–87, however, did not list the fair in Opatów. *Luaḥ mi-shenat* [5]*547.* In this last calendar, there appeared no less than twenty fairs not listed by Grochulska in her list of the main fairs in the Polish Commonwealth. It would seem, given the significance of Jews in certain sectors of Polish commerce, that such a list of the main fairs cannot be prepared without reference to Hebrew as well as Polish calendars. Grochulska, "Jarmarki," pp. 811–21. The whole matter cries out for a systematic comparative study. Compare Hüttenmeister, "Luḥot."

22. The fairs in 1708 were Św. Trojcy (first Sunday after Whitsuntide), Św. Anny (July 26), Św. Marcina (November 11), Św. Franciszka (October 4), Św. Agnieszki (January 21), Św. Tomasza (December 21), Kwietnia Niedziela. ADO, I/14. According to a calendar published in Lwów in 1740, there was also a fair in Opatów on St. Leonard's day (November 6). Akty Sang., 458/1. In 1806, the following fair dates were listed as well: Nowy Rok, Wstępna Środa, Przewodnia, Św. Jana, Św. Bartłomieja. ADO, II/102. Compare the somewhat different list provided by Guldon and Stępkowski, "Udział Opatowa," pp. 115–16.

23. Arch. K. III/1545, III/1547, III/1611; ADO, I/38, I/63, I/75, I/90, I/112. Compare Brilling, "Jüdische Messgäste." Freudenthal, *Leipziger,* p. 171.

24. The following, grouped by region, are the records that were surveyed. An asterisk indicates a reference to merchants from Opatów. The material is in Arch. K.III; the file number follows the place name.

Great Poland: Bydgoszcz (1517), Dębrzno (1535), *Fordan (1538), Gniezno (1540), *Grabów (1544), Jastrów (1566), Jutrosin (1560), *Kalisz (1561), Kcynia

(1571), Kempno (1569), Konin (1579), Leszno (1592), *Międzyrzecz (1604), Nakło (1616), Piła (1635), Poznań (1641), *Rawicz (1652), Sarnowo (1660), Sieraków (1661), Stawiszyn (1677), Wschowa (1712), Zbąszyn (1719), and *Zwoleń (1722).

Ruthenia: Bar (1495), Beresteczko (1503), *Brody (1515), Gródek (1545), and Janów (1552).

Ukraine: Berdyczów (1500), Czarnobył (1525), *Kamieniec Podolski (1564), Lwów (1596), Łuck (1599), Raszków (1650), and Śniatyń (1672).

Little Poland: Barwinek (1498), Będzin (1495), Biecz (1504), Czorsztyn (1530), Grybów (1547), Jozefów (1559), Kazimierz (1567), Kenty (1570), *Kozienice (1586), *Kraków (1587), *Lublin (1594), Luboml (1595), *Muszyna (1611), Opatowiec (1625), *Opatów (1626), *Opoczno (1627), Piwniczna (1636), Połaniec (1639), *Przedbórz (1644), Puławy (1648), *Sandomierz (1654); Wodzisław (1710), *Zawichost (1718), and Żywiec (1727).

Mazovia: Chorzele (1520), Mława (1605), Nowogród, Łomża (1621), Praga (1642), Sierpc (1667), and *Warszawa (1702).

White Russia—Lithuania: Augustów (1490).

25. ADO, I/122, I/125; Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* p. 33. For the text of the 1569 privilege of the merchants' guild in Opatów, see Wiśniewski, *Dekanat,* pp. 306–9.

26. Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* p. 35.

27. ADO, I/125.

28. Arch. Sang., 378.

29. "Iuż y kilka mieszczan dla tey ruiny niemaiąc sposobu do życia na insze miasta rozprowadzili." Akty Sang., 163/4. Compare a similar passage in an undated petition of the Catholic municipality from the same period: "iuż kilka mieszczan pod inszę protekcyę porozchodzili y insi zamyslaią." Akty Sang., 9/9.

30. Compare "Punkta . . . o upadek miasta Chrześcianskiego Opatowa y całego pospólstwa podane in A-o 1722." Akty Sang. 163/4. And see the undated petitions in that file and in file 9/9.

31. "W naszym mieście katolickim żadnego kupca niemasz który by miał suknem handlować bo im Synagoga Żydowska odebrała." Akty Sang., 163/4.

32. "A choć by się katolik mógl przepomoć na jaki handel w mieście z ktorego by mogł mieć pożywienie, to oni mają takowych Żydów kilkunastu faktorów baraśników którzy kupami biegają i za miasto wybiegają czyli szlachcica czyli księdza, czyli też ościennego człeka wyprowadzą z miasta Katolickieo na ulicę żydowską do kupienia, a nam katolikom niedopuszczą. Przez co my pożywić się nie możemy, bo nietylko rzemiesła wszelkie, chleb, piwo ale i ubogim przekupkom kaszę, ser, krupy, masło, świce . . . cybule, garki, łyszki, wrzeciana odebrali, które iuż niemaiąc sposobu inszego podupadszy w ubóstwie swoim nie mogąc się pożywić musi puść na ostatek do szpitala." Akty Sang., 163/4 (1722).

33. Ibid.

34. Guldon and Stepkowski, "Udział Opatowa," p. 118.

35. "Użyiesz pańskiey nad nami compassyjej. Zostając przedtym kupcy nasi . . . którzy ze Gdańskiem, Wrocławiem i Amsterdamem handle swoie prowadzili mieszkający tamże inni Żydzi dobrze się mieli, a przecie nigdy nie byli do płacenia dwóch części podatków pociągani tylko do trzeciey części. A teraz, kiedy kilka kupców najsławnieyszych zbankretowali, drudzy w mizerją poszli i mało co handlów prowadzą

. . . co przedtym do Wrocławia jeździli, chcą nas pp. mieszczanie do dwóch części płacenia podatków wprawić." Akty Sang., 9/9.

36. ADO, I/14, I/58, I/66.

37. ADO, I/122.

38. ADO, I/42.

39. ADO, I/125.

40. ADO, I/110; Mahler, *Yidn,* vol. 2, tables 43, 45.

41. Arch. Sang., 526; ADO, I/2, I/122.

42. ADO, I/15, I/112. Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 527–33. Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy," pp. 35–37.

43. Arch. K., III/1604/5: "Rewizyja kupców Małopolskich z jarmarku frankfortskiego reminiscere." They were from Brody, Janów (two), Końska Wola, Końskie, Kozienice, Kurów, Międzyborz, Przysucha (two), Radom, Satanów, Witków, Zasław, and Żółkiew. The largest single shipment was that of Leyb of Żółkiew: 25,776 zloties.

44. Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel, *She'elot u-teshuvot,* "Ḥoshen mishpat," qu. 15, p. 12r.

45. See, for example, Kuklińska, *Handel,* pp. 29–30.

46. Arch. K., III/1604/5.

47. In 1762, at Tartaków, two Jewish merchants from Opatów purchased 1,574 sheepskins from Jerzy Włoszyn "kupiec orygentalnym." They paid 2,831 zloties in cash and gave him a note, to be paid at Brody, for the balance of 5,000 zloties. ADO, I/122, I/125. In 1764, the wealthy Brody merchant Samuel Jakubowicz Rabinowicz (Babad) organized a convoy to Breslau with an escort of thirty cossacks. His partners included two other Brody merchants and one Opatów merchant, David Jakob. Wurm, *Z dziejów,* pp. 28–29. In 1765 and 1766, six Jewish merchants from Opatów paid tolls in Brody. Arch. K., III/1515.

48. It is astonishing that historians continue to cite, without criticism or analysis, Czacki's statement that, at the end of the eighteenth century, Jews were responsible for three-fourths of Poland's exports and a tenth of its imports. Rutkowski, *Historia,* p. 247; Kuklińska, *Handel,* p. 38. Compare Czacki, *Rozprawa,* p. 118.

49. See the letters complaining about two Opatów Jews, Isaac Lubelski and Wolf Golda, who owed considerable debts (6,966 and 5,886 zloties, respectively) for merchandise acquired at Frankfurt or Leipzig from the Berlin house of Jean Platzmann and Lautier. Arch. G., 215.

50. He was a *rosh* in 1694. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

51. ADO, I/91; Akty Sang., 122/26. He was in Leipzig for the fairs in 1697, 1698, and 1701. Freudenthal, *Leipziger,* p. 171.

52. Akty Sang., 122/26; ADO, I/108: the inventory of his goods was carried out after his death.

53. Eight Jewish merchants from Opatów attended Leipzig fairs between 1700 and 1762. Freudenthal, *Leipziger,* p. 171.

54. Arch. Sang., 428, 444.

55. See the figures cited by Kuklińska, "Kupcy."

56. ADO, I/122.

57. ADO, I/71, I/88. In 1764 and 1765, Lubomirski purchased fabrics for 1,125 zloties from six different Opatów Jewish merchants. ADO, I/98.

58. French *sukno, axamit,* Dutch linen, Venetian *atlas,* muslin, and so on. ADO, I/71. See, also, the list of goods seized by the Bar confederates in 1770. ADO, I/61.

59. ADO, I/125.

60. ADO, I/73. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 504.

61. Bławatnych, sukiennych, i futerniczych." ADO, I/91 (1756).

62. *Paklak:* 154 *postawy; sukno:* 98 *postawy; kamlot:* 40 *sztuk;* cheaper linens: 25 *sztuk,* 38 *kop.* (One *postaw* = 30–40 *łokci* = 15–18 meters.) *Paklak* is a coarse cloth, sometimes half wool on a linen or burlap warp; it was used most often for cheap winter clothing. Sukno means cloth; its price in these entries (one *postaw* at about 34 zloties) was just over twice that of *paklak* (one *postaw* at 15 zloties). *Kamlot* or *camlet* is a coarse worsted but not very thick. It was produced in Poland or imported from other countries and was among the cheapest woolen cloths. See Wyrobisz, "Materiały"; Guldon and Stępkowski, *Statystyka;* Arentowicz, *Miary;* Glamann, "European Trade," p. 506.

63. Of 100 entries representing Opatów Jewish merchants at eighteen toll stations, the most frequent appearances were at Przedbórz—16; Zawichost—15; Brody—13; Cracow—13; Opatów—12; Kozienice—5; Lublin—5; Rawicz—5; Warsaw—4; and Międzyrzecz—4. One each were at Grabów, Jozefów, Kalisz, Kamieniec Podolski, Opoczno, Sandomierz, Wschowa, and Zwoleń.

64. Merchants from Opatów seem to have had a preference for Rawicz throughout the century. Arch. Sang., 526 (1730s); ADO, I/83 (1770s–1780s).

65. The price was 1,137 zloties, 16 groszy, 1 szeląg. ADO, I/125.

66. Arch. K., III/1626 (2).

67. Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel, *She'elot u-teshuvot,* "Ḥoshen mishpat," quo. 35, p. 27v. And see the report of 1805, which, commenting on this trade in general, contended that it was concentrated in the hands of Jews who "zalewali wsie i kupowali welne jeszcze na owcy." Quoted by Ringelblum, *Projekty,* p. 35.

68. The tax was 2.5–3 percent, as opposed to 1.5 percent. ADO, I/75, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 528.

69. ADO, I/75, I/112. Compare Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy," pp. 35–37; Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 527–33.

70. "She-meshartim . . . eṣel soḥarim be-ha-kippot . . . kedei she-lo yasig gevul la-ba'al bayit ha-rishon be-'inyanei ha-meḥiyah." Nahum Sokolow Collection. In the eighteenth century, in Przemyśl, there was a guild of "małych kupców." Schorr, *Żydzi,* p. 69, n1. Compare Goldberg, "Ha-misḥar," p. 27.

71. ADO, I/59, I/79, I/91, I/112, I/121. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 526.

72. ADO, I/73, I/91, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 617–18.

73. ADO, I/73; Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 617.

74. Carosis, *Reisen,* p. 238.

75. Akty Sang., 15/30.

76. Sokolow, "Mi-pinqas," p. 138.

77. The creditors were Malicki, Kossecki, Krzysztof Reklowski, Trzciński, Walenty Dąbrowski, Szymon Wylczyński, Jan Leźnicki, Szaul Szymchowicz (rabbi of Opatów), and Platzmann and Lauzier of Berlin. ADO, I/77, I/83, I/88, I/122, I/125; Arch. G., 215, 246.

78. Such a requirement was imposed by Sanguszko in 1741 and reiterated by Lubomirski in 1767 and 1778. Arch. G., 246.

79. ADO, I/125. In July 1762, Malicki, who had extended loans totaling 16,226 zloties to ten Opatów Jewish merchants, complained to Lubomirski that he had not received the scheduled payments. Anteriora, 110.

80. ADO, I/122; Arch. G., 215.

81. Freudenthal, *Leipziger,* p. 171; ADO, I/88, I/114, I/125.

82. ADO, I/102.

83. ADO, I/88, I/125; Arch. G., 246.

84. ADO, I/71, I/79, I/125.

85. ADO, I/125.

86. ADO, I/71, I/79, I/109, I/110; Akty Sang., 469/1; Arch. Sang., 526.

87. Arch. G., 246; ADO, I/83, I/122, I/125.

88. ADO, I/61, I/71, I/122; Arch. K., III/1604.

89. The debts were incurred in Frankfurt or Leipzig. The letters, incidentally, are in French and are followed in the archival file by translations to Polish. Arch. G., 215.

90. See the extensive file, with details. Arch. G., 246.

91. ADO, I/2, I/38, I/58, I/61, I/63, I/73, I/77, I/78, I/93, I/102, I/122; Anteriora, 117; Arch. G., 215, 239, 246.

92. ADO, I/71.

93. ADO, I/122; Bib. Oss., ms. 303, p. 223; Ş. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 65; Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 836, p. 445.

94. The stock included 101 hats of four types ranging from "Bulgarian" (27 at 27 zloties, 20 groszy) to plain (4 at 4 zloties, 15 groszy), valued at 1,441 zloties; 197 sheepskins of six types, valued at a total of 1,384 zloties; and various furs, valued at 613 zloties, ADO, I/42.

95. Iwaniewicz of Chocim, 666 zloties; Leyzor of Tartaków, 123 zloties; and a merchant of Rawicz, 108 zloties (total, 897 zloties). Pan Mikułowski, 900 zloties; Pan Czarnecki, 900 zloties; Pan Grablowski, 1,098 zloties; and Pan Rej, 1,314 zloties (total 4,212 zloties). To Dawid Chęciński of Opatów, 1,325 zloties, and to eight other Opatów Jews, 926 zloties. ADO, I/42.

96. ADO, I/122. Compare ADO, I/79; Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 543. The question of lending by the kahal itself is taken up in chapter 6.

97. ADO, I/73. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 619.

98. *Miasta polskie,* p. 522. On the increasing use of grain for the production of beer and vodka and its general significance, see especially Kula, *Teoria,* pp. 191–94. Compare, also, Guldon, *Związki.*

99. ADO, I/14, I/38, I/41, I/42, I/63, I/66, I/71, I/73, I/76, I/88, I/91, I/93, I/98, I/121; Anteriora, 108; Arch. Sang., 428, 441, 526.

100. ADO, I/14, I/42.

101. Arch. Sang., 526.

102. Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/14, I/90, I/95, I/98, I/99.

103. The phrase was usually "przy swoich schadzkach." Anteriora, 108.

104. ADO, I/69.

105. ADO, I/41, I/42, I/63, I/91; Anteriora, 108.

106. ADO, I/63, I/71, I/73, I/74, II/99.

107. Lewek Marcinkowski (Yehuda Leib ben Eli'ezer of Leżajsk) in 1755, 1767, 1768, and 1775–78; Israel Zawierucha (Yisra'el ben Avraham) in 1771–74; Icek Fawelowicz (Yiṣḥaq ben Meshullam Feivel) in 1777, 1779, 1786, and 1790. Anteriora, 108.

108. Arch. Sang., 428.

109. ADO, I/91, I/105.

110. "Z żydowskiego narodu . . . prawo, wolność będą mieli zażywać tego cechu za słusznym ukontentowaniem cechu i opłaceniem służby kościelney, jednak tylko dożywotnie a nie wiecznie, ponieważ takej wolności nigdy przedtym w Opatowie nie mieli." ADO, I/71.

111. These included *dom pański, kamienica wielka murowana, domostwo klemense, domostwo Sabatowski,* and the *Ratusz.* ADO, I/41, I/42, I/91, I/95.

112. ADO, I/14, I/42, I/63, I/91; Arch. Sang., 526.

113. ADO, I/76; Arch. Sang., 526.

114. ADO, I/41, I/42, I/63, I/76, I/88, I/91; Anteriora, 108.

115. ADO, I/38, I/102.

116. Arch. K., III/1545, pp. 4, 5, 7 (Grzybów); III/1547, pp. 6, 7, 8 (Gródek); III/1611, p. 10 (Muszyna).

117. ADO, I/38.

118. Mahler, *Sefer Santz,* pp. 52, 53, 57. Morgensztern, "O działalności," vol. 56, pp. 13–15; Birkenthal, *Memoirs,* passim.

119. Hundert, "Kivunei," p. 234.

120. ADO, I/14, I/15, I/16, I/38, I/71, I/75, I/88, I/98, I/125, II/21a, II/22, II/22b; Arch. Sang., 441; Akty Sang., 19/16, 163/4. Andrew (Andrzej) Thomson was a "merchant and citizen" of Opatów who also held municipal office. He was a Protestant and was buried alongside his wife, Anna, in the Protestant cemetery at Wielko Tursk after his death on February 26, 1727. Arch. Sang., 378; Akty Sang., 163/4; Steuart, *Papers,* p. 116.

121. Arch. K., III/1604/12 (Międzyrzecz).

122. ADO, I/102.

123. It is striking that, in this century, the town's Jews believed that Opatów had been founded as a Jewish town and that Christians had arrived only in the nineteenth century. Yasheev, *Apt,* pp. 9, 19.

CHAPTER 5
JEWISH SOCIETY

1. Compare the recollections of his life of Katzenellenbogen, *Sefer,* passim. And see Weinreich, "Lantukh."

2. Frenk, "Le-toledot," p. 243 (1727), p. 242 (1735), p. 244 (1735), p. 245 (1745), p. 244 (1765); ADO, I/121 (1745); Nahum Sokolow Collection (1798, a father and son). And see Hundert, "Sheqiʿat," p. 45; Kahana, "Ḥezqat."

3. In the case in 1798, involving a father and son, the minute book recorded only that a crime had been committed "asher lo nitan likhtov" (which may not be written). Nahum Sokolow Collection.

4. After Jeremiah 9:7.

5. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

6. ADO, I/102, I/109.

7. See Assaf, *Ha-onashin,* p. 31.

8. Was it a *parokhet?* The name of the thief was Jasek son of Golda (1773). ADO, I/122.

9. For other instances of the use of the *kuna,* see ADO, I/122; Akty Sang., 12/16.

On shaming as a sanction in Polish Catholic society, see Baranowski, *Życie,* p. 149. Unaccountably, he described the stocks as a corporal punishment.

10. The list of questions and the transcript of the interrogation are in the file. ADO, I/122. There are some elisions of little import in the transcription.

11. Jakob Lachman, a prosperous householder, appeared in the records from 1745 to 1771. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/102, I/110, I/122.

12. Wulf Korzennik appeared in the records from 1755 to 1763. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/102, I/110, I/125.

13. "Że u nas nie wolno Panną się starzeć, namówili za Żyda y wesele sprawili."

14. "Obiecywał, tylko niewiem co bo mówił; dam ja ci co stanie ci za to. Potym, gdy w czwartym miesiącu postrzegłam po sobie, wstyd mi było pójść do miasta, poszłam do Baranowa, gdzie Żydzi według zwyczaju mie odesłali, tak od niego nic nie wzięłam."

15. ADO, I/102, I/110.

16. ADO, I/122.

17. Abuś Tabacznik first appeared in the records in 1760. Although his weekly *sympla* payment was quite low, he was a member of the Burial Society, which indicates a measure of prestige and relatively high social status. ADO, I/58, I/102, I/110.

18. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/95, I/102, I/109, I/125.

19. Kamler, "Infanticide."

20. Baranowski, *Życie,* pp. 146–48.

21. Baranowski, *Sprawy.*

22. ADO, I/102. Of the seventy-three households of Jews from Opatów in Warsaw in 1778, sixteen, or 22 percent, included servants.

23. For illustrations, see Katzenellenbogen, *Sefer,* passim.

24. In 1721, it was 5 percent; in 1755, 6 percent; c1766, 14 percent. ADO, I/66, I/102, I/110.

25. See Hundert, "Jewish Children," p. 89, and the references there.

26. ADO, I/66, I/102, I/110.

27. Stampfer, "1764 Census," p. 55.

28. See Hundert, "On the Jewish Community," pp. 364–65, and the references there.

29. Landau, *She'elot u-teshuvot noda,* "even ha-ezer," qu. 54; Halpern, *Yehudim,* pp. 289–309.

30. ADO, I/79, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 532, 540, 542.

31. The income from thirty-four funerals, ranging from 4 zloties to 207 zloties each, was 1,089 zloties. The income from children's funerals was 128 zloties, 4 groszy. ADO, I/118.

32. The cost of such funerals and of shrouds and other related expenditures amounted to 288 zloties, 20 groszy. Ibid.

33. Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/90, I/95, I/98, I/99.

34. ADO, I/120. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 570.

35. Arch. G., 239. In 1766, two groups of women—one of four, the other of three—borrowed 2,000 zloties each from a *szlachcić.* ADO, I/77.

36. Ester Rabinowa Kraśnicka, Golda bat Zelig. ADO, I/91, I/103.

37. Shaindl bat David (Chęciński) and Shelomoh Zalman ben Menaḥem Mendel. ADO, I/38, I/91.

38. ADO, I/88.

39. Akty Sang., 163/4. Compare Hundert, "Kivunei hitpatḥut"; idem, "Approaches."

40. ADO, I/112. Compare Bałaban, "Die Krakauer," vol. 10, pp. 335–36, vol. 11, pp. 107–8; Halpern, *Pinqas,* nos. 111–49, pp. 45–51, no. 167, p. 59, nos. 189–90: p. 70, no. 308, p. 133, no. 850, p. 452, no. 869, p. 459, no. 875, p. 461, nos. 910–13, p. 476, no. 930, p. 492, no. 945, pp. 499, 517, 518; Dickstein, "Taqanot."

41. Wyrobisz, "Materiały."

42. ADO, I/112.

43. ADO, I/71, I/77, I/102 (1759, 1769, 1770). Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 563.

44. ADO, I/125. No complete list of this kind has been preserved. Individual cases of daughters (and sons) marrying and moving to the following places are known: Ciechanów, Głogów, Ożarów, Stryj, Szędziszów, and Turobin. ADO, I/74, I/78, I/111, I/114; Arch. Sang., 441.

45. ADO, I/111.

46. ADO, I/114, I/91. In 1765, Leyzor Izraelowicz Opatowski was a "citizen of Kazimierz Dolny" and appeared in Warsaw seeking confirmation of that community's privilege. Central Archive, PL 160. Compare Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges,* pp. 119–22.

47. Arch. Pub. Also see chapter 1. Pejsach Chaimowicz of Opatów, *syndic* of the Warsaw Jewish community from 1759 to 1784, did not appear on the 1778 list among the Jews from Opatów. On him, see Ringelblum, "Jews in Warsaw," p. 257; M. Horn, *Regesty,* vol. 1, p. 17. But see ibid., vol. 2, p. 49, where the same individual, apparently, is referred to as "z Kozienic."

48. Grochulska, "Jarmarki," p. 805.

49. On Isaac Meir Frankel (died 1703), see Nadav, "Toledot," pp. 146–47, and the references there.

50. Freimann, "Briefwechsel." Compare Steinschneider, "Jüdische Ærzte," p. 45; Poznanski, "Nachtrage," p. 30; L. Lewin, "Die jüdischen Studenten."

51. Eidelberg, "Rabbinic Emigrants"; Shulvass, *From East to West.*

52. Leperer, "Abraham," p. 83; S. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 25; Roth, "Haskalah"; Schirmann, "First Hebrew."

53. Neubauer. Compare Sokolow, "Ḥaqirot," p. 41.

54. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

55. Żuchowski, *Odgłos.* The *sejmik* meeting in Opatów in August 1697 also led to anti-Jewish violence in the town. Trawicka, *Sejmik,* p. 39.

56. Azulai, *Sefer,* p. 104; Bartal, "Yehudim," pp. 419–20.

57. ADO, I/110.

58. At the beginning of the century, likely at the request of the Council of the Lands or of the regions of Great Poland and Little Poland, this congregation had sent funds to Poland for the relief of twenty-six Jewish communities "in Upper Poland [and] Lower Poland," including Opatów. Barnett, "Correspondence," pp. 20–21. Compare Halpern, *Yehudim,* p. 72; Hyamson, *Sephardim,* p. 164.

59. Undoubtedly, Joseph Gikatila, *Sha*ᶜ*arei orah.*

60. There is no kabbalistic work with this title and attributed to Abraham. The best-known work with this name is by Nathan Hannover and is concerned with the

liturgy. It turns out, however, that Hannover's work was published, with supplements, in Constantinople in 1732. Among the supplements was *Sefer yeṣirah,* an important kabbalistic work, which was indeed attributed by the mystics to the first patriarch. I am much indebted to Professor Arthur Green and, particularly, to Dr. Ze'ev Gries, whose erudition informs this note.

61. Parts of this passage have been published in Dexter, *Literary Diary,* vol. 1, pp. 299–303, 322; Kohut, *Ezra Stiles,* pp. 79–83. The material has been expanded considerably here on the basis of Ezra Stiles Papers, pp. 277–82, 286–87, 293, 295–96, 322, 326.

62. ADO, I/63.

63. Alexander lived in a large brick house with more than one domestic servant. ADO, I/42, I/58, I/88, I/102, I/110, I/114, I/122. See also his approbation to Yosef Yehuda ben Yisra'el, *Sefer aseifat yehuda.*

64. Ben-Zvi, "Ha-yishuv," pp. 40–41; idem, *Meḥqarim,* pp. 185–87; Barnai, "Le-toledot," p. 209; idem, *Iggerot,* pp. 46–49; Heschel, *Circle,* p. 189; Luncz, "Dovev," pp. 152–55.

65. The Jewish community of Jerusalem experienced a revival in the 1730s after the establishment of the Constantinople Committee, Officials of the Land of Israel. Barnai, *Yehudei,* p. 133.

66. This is the place to correct an error made by Anatol Leszczyński in his remarks related to the Opatów kahal budget of 1752, parts of which he published. That budget included an expenditure of 4 zloties in favor of "Tym, co sięzdzą w Szkołę na Świętą." Leszczyński thought that this was a subsidy to a group of individuals who studied in the *beit midrash* (chapel, study hall). However, this is most unlikely because of the words "na Świętą" (during the holiday). The entry was listed for October, and the reference was almost certainly to villagers who slept in the *beit midrash* when they came to Opatów for the High Holidays. Of course, this does not mean that there was no one who filled the role described by Ḥisdai, "'Eved ha-Shem'," but there is no documentation for the existence of such an individual or group of individuals in Opatów. Leszczyński, "Ekspensy," p. 197.

67. Also see chapter 7. On Kossover, see Weiss, "Reshit," pp. 60–62. See the comments modifying Weiss's characterization of Kossover as a "pre-Hasidic" figure in Rapoport-Albert, "Ha-Tenu'a," pp. 190–91.

68. Emden, *Megillat sefer,* pp. 40–41; idem, *Shevirat,* p. 50a; idem, *Sefer hitavqut,* p. 147b; idem, *Petaḥ,* p. 14b. Compare Dubnow, *Toledot ha-ḥassidut,* p. 120; Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot,* p. 160; Heschel, *Circle;* p. 125, n3. Heschel denied that this Naḥman of Kosów was to be identified with the man of the same name who was a companion of the Besht.

69. See Wilensky, *Ḥassidim,* vol. 1, p. 42, vol. 2, pp. 88, 135, 330.

70. Ginzburg, *R. Moshe Ḥayyim,* docs. 101, 103, pp. 264, 270, 466; Benayahu, *Kitvei,* p. 218. And see chapter 7 on the Landaus.

71. Both Dinur and Dubnow interpreted Naḥman's visit as part of the "missionary" efforts of the Beshtian *ḥassidim.* See n67.

72. Ḥevrah qadisha ner tamid shel shabbat. Excerpts from the minute book of this fraternal society, founded in 1741, were published in Rakocz, *Sefer siftei,* pp. 3a-4b. Compare Yaari, "Ner Tamid Societies."

73. From the tax rolls, it would appear that, while not desperately poor, Siaps Introligator was a man of distinctly moderate means. Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/88.

74. According to legend, the young boy was an only child, born in their old age to Shabbetai and his wife, Pearl, only after they had received a blessing from the Besht.

75. Elior, "Between *yesh* and *ayin*," p. 395, and the sources cited there. Dubnow, who wrote that the Israel of Kozienice was born in Ostrowiec, was mistaken. *Toledot ha-ḥassidut*, p. 217.

76. ADO, I/77, I/83.

77. See Nigal, "Maqor rishoni"; Lieberman, "Keiṣad," pp. 170–73.

78. Nigal, "Maqor rishoni."

79. There were, apparently, three works that remained in manuscript. Lieberman, "Keiṣad." Compare *Sefer ner miṣvah* (Piotrków, 1911).

80. Horowitz, *Le-toledot*, pp. 80–81.

CHAPTER 6
THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

1. On the subject of Jewish autonomous institutions, see the literature listed in Hundert and Bacon, *Jews in Poland*, pp. 17–21. On comparisons with Christian municipal government, see also Hundert, "On the Jewish Community."

2. The expenditures for mead for the elders during election time were included in virtually all of the surviving annual budgets of the community.

3. ADO, I/42, I/121; Trojan, *Dzieje*, p. 50; Bałaban, "Ustrój kahału," p. 31.

4. ADO, I/103.

5. Incomplete transcriptions of the election results in 1694, 1696, and 1726 are preserved in the Nahum Sokolow Collection.

6. Trojan, *Dzieje*, pp. 26–29, 32–33; Akty Sang., 132/20, 163/4; ADO, I/42, I/125.

7. Icko Zamojski and his son, Jakub, were wealthy textile merchants. Jakub traded in Gdańsk at times and, at least once, supplied goods to Sanguszko. Akty Sang., 12/6, 122/16; Arch. Sang., 441, 526; ADO, I/42. Joseph Davidowicz is mentioned in ADO, I/108. Mordekhai ben Yehuda Leib (Marek Lewkowicz) was one of six sons of Yehuda Leib of Szydłów, rabbi of Cracow in 1713–31. Four of Mordekhai-Marek's brothers were rabbis (in Szydłów, Chmielnik, Tarnów, and Pińczów); the other was a communal elder in Staszów. In 1760, Yoseph ben Yehuda Leib, formerly rabbi of Pińczów, was living with his brother in Opatów. In 1744, Mordekhai-Marek leased the commerce *korobka* together with Yosef Landau. In a Hebrew tax roll of 1755, he was listed as R. Mordekhai Babad (*ben av beit din*). In 1756, he leased the meat *korobka* together with Binyamin Wulf Landau and Avigdor Jeremiaszowicz. In 1757, he was referred to as "Kassyer przeszły skarbu pańskiey, wierny kahału." Akty Sang., 12/16; ADO, I/71, I/110, I/114, I/121; Bałaban, *Historja*, vol. 2, p. 264; Halpern, *Pinqas*, no. 651, p. 331, n6.

8. Nahum Sokolow Collection; ADO, I/42, I/108; Akty Sang., 122/26; Arch Sang., 428, 526; Halpern, *Pinqas*, no. 552, p. 268; nos. 577–78, pp. 287, 289; no. 588, p. 292; no. 595, p. 299; no. 621, p. 313; no. 657, p. 334; no. 689, p. 373.

9. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

10. ADO, I/114 (1760), I/102 (1770, 1771), I/38 (1772), I/58, I/115 (1775), I/109 (1776), II/123 (1789, 1790).

11. Compare Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot*, pp. 104–06.

12. Nahum Sokolow Collection; Akty Sang., 12/16; ADO, I/42, I/63, I/74, I/121; Frenk, *"Le-toledot,"* pp. 244, 245; Sokolow, "Ḥaqirot," p. 45.

13. "Yeḥidei segulah . . . qeruʾei ʾedah ha-niqraʾim le-khol ṣorekh tiqunei kelal ha-qehillah." Sokolow, "Ḥaqirot," p. 45. And see n40, below, describing the participants in the decision to raise the rabbi's salary.

14. "Nie nazywał obywatelem opatowskim." ADO, I/122.

15. ADO, I/42. I/74, I/79, I/112, I/118, I/122, I/125.

16. Rakocz, *Sefer siftei qodesh,* pp. 3b-4a; also see chapter 5.

17. ADO, I/74, I/118, I/122. Compare, for one other example, Biber, *Mazkeret,* pp. 5–7.

18. "Wszytskie urzędy tak w bractwie." ADO, I/102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 562–63.

19. ADO, I/74, I/122.

20. ADO, I/118 ("Rachunek Bractwa Kierkuckiego").

21. Moshe (ben) Nathan Neta Shapiro was perhaps the son of R. Notele Apter. See n34.

22. ADO, I/42, I/79, I/125.

23. "Że przedtym osobliwy krome szkolników, sendyk dla attentowania i promowania spraw kahałnych i interessów po grodach i trybunalach bywał." ADO, I/121. Compare ADO, I/79; Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 542.

24. ADO, I/109.

25. ADO, I/100, I/102. Compare ADO, I/116; Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 579, 581, 599.

26. The word is from the Polish-Yiddish word *puszka-pushke,* meaning box for charitable donations. It is unlikely to have meant gunsmith, which is the other definition of *puszkarz.*

27. Avram ben reb Dovid Shames (Abuś Szkolnik Kahalny) paid 3 groszy weekly in *sympla* in 1755 and a similar amount in 1770. Icek Szkolnik (*puszkarz*) paid 3 groszy weekly in 1770. Jakiel Szkolnik paid 2 groszy a week in 1760. ADO, I/58, I/102, I/110.

28. The homeowner was Menczel; three other families lived in the same house. ADO, I/102, I/110.

29. ADO, I/102, I/114.

30. Weinryb, "Mi-pinqas," p. 195.

31. Yiṣḥaq ben Ben-Ṣiyon, *Sefer mikhlal yofi,* p. 45b.

32. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

33. ADO, I/71, I/116. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 600.

34. Nathan Neta Shapiro was known as Reb Notele Apter and was, according to Horowitz, the son of Shelomoh Shapiro, rabbi of Satanów (died 1649). Reb Notele was married to Rekhish, daughter of Yeḥezqel Landau (died 1718). They had at least two daughters; one married Wolf Ṭovei Medinah of Opatów, another married Naftali Taussig (Tang) and moved to London. In 1741, the preacher of the Eternal Light Society was perhaps his son: Moshe (ben?) Nathan Shapiro. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* pp. 25, 483; Leperer, "Abraham," p. 83. Yiṣḥaq ben Ben Ṣiyon is the author of *Sefer mikhlal yofi.* In the introduction to this book, he wrote that he had been second preacher in Brody before he was thirty years old. From there he went to Dubno, then to Czortków, and then "for this long period" to Opatów. On him, see particularly Piekarz, *Bi-mei,* s.v. Yiṣḥaq b. Ben-Ṣiyon.

35. In March 1753, there was an expenditure for a visiting cantor from Komarno. ADO, I/109. Compare ADO, I/116; Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 600.

36. Compare Idelsohn, "*Ha-ḥazzan;*" idem, *Jewish Music.*

37. The rabbis of Opatów in the eighteenth century were as follows:

—1696–1703: Sha'ul ben Yehoshu'a Heschel; during the last three years he lived in Cracow where he had assumed the post of rabbi.

—1712–18: Me'ir ben Binyamin Wolf Heilperin.

—1719–24: Yiṣḥaq ben Ṣevi Hirsh Segal Landau.

—1731–64: Aharon Moshe Ya'aqov of Cracow.

—1765–72: Sha'ul ben Simḥa Segal Ḥarif.

—1772–75: Ḥananiah Lipman Meisels.

—1776–88: Aryeh Leib ben Ze'ev Wolf Ḥarif.

—1789–98: Ya'aqov Simḥa ben Yosef Segal Landau.

The list is incomplete, and some of the dates are less than certain. Dembitzer, *Kelilat yofi,* pp. 19v-20, 41, 103v, 128v; Bałaban, *Historja żydów,* vol. 2, pp. 263–64, 275; Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* pp. 49–58, 61–62; Eisenstadt and Weiner, *Da'at qedoshim* pp. 57–61; Halpern, *Pinqas;* Nahum Sokolow Collection; ADO, I/2, I/63, I/66, I/74, I/77, I/83, I/122; Arch. G., 215.

38. Aharon Moshe Ya'aqov of Cracow, rabbi of Opatów from 1731 to 1764, was termed *av beit din* and was head of the *yeshiva.* Nahum Sokolow Collection.

39. Bursztyn, "Żydzi," p. 22. Compare Halpern, *Taqanot,* nos. 158, 159, 160, 166, 167, 172, 173, pp. 52, 54, 55.

40. ADO, I/63. The one-page document recording the decision to raise the rabbi's salary is a translation into Polish of the Hebrew original, which has not been preserved. The document carries the date "11 Aprilis 1705 według kalendarza żydowskiego." This is clearly an (understandable) error. The turn of the century, according to the Jewish calendar, coincided with 1740. Thus, the Hebrew document would have been dated (5)505. Moreover, the document notes that permission for the raise in salary had been granted by Imści Marszałka W X. Litt. The only owner of Opatów who had this title was Paweł Karol Sanguszko, who acquired control of the town after the death of his brother-in-law, Aleksander Dominik Lubomirski, in 1720. And the twelve signatories—starsi synagoga Opatowska y naypryncypalnieyszey gospodarzów co naywięcey płacą podatków iako y Starsi Ziemski y duchowni także starsi szpitalni y inni co podatki płacą—were all active at midcentury, rather than at its beginning.

41. "Kopia konsensu rabina opatowskiego," January 5, 1777. ADO, I/77.

42. Landau, *She'elot u-teshuvot noda bi-huda,* "Oraḥ hayyim," qu. 15, p. 5a.

43. This raises an interesting and important issue, which cannot be explored here. Namely, ought the rabbinate be treated as a clerical class in Jewish society, with its own particular interests? The matter deserves study.

44. "Które więcey opłaty od nikogo wyciągać niepowienien." ADO, I/109. See the similar, if less detailed, list of "Dochody Rabina Zasławskiego." Teki Schneidera. The degree to which the rabbi was treated as a part of the administrative apparatus of the estate is discussed in chapter 8.

45. See Morell, "An Equal," esp. p. 193 and the references there.

46. "Od parafianów kolęda podług zwyczaju, zapustuie od parafianów z miasta podług zwyczaju." ADO, I/109. Compare Levitats, *Jewish Community,* p. 155, n27; Jacob Joseph, *Toledot,* "Ṣav."

47. This would place the rabbi's income at the level of all but the most important

estate managers and above that of the highest paid municipal officials in Cracow. Makowska, "Pracownicy"; Tomaszewski, *Ceny w Krakowie,* pp. 148–49. In Lublin, such municipal salaries appear to have been much lower—about 200 zloties annually. Adamczyk, *Ceny w Lublinie,* p. 104.

48. Bałaban, "Ustrój," p. 33.

49. ADO, I/77.

50. The budget calculations are based on the following sources: ADO, I/14, I/38, I/58, I/59, I/71, I/74, I/75, I/77, I/79, I/88, I/91, I/93, I/102, I/109, I/111, I/112, I/113, I/114, I/115, I/116, I/117, II/123; Arch. Sang., 428.

51. ADO, I/122.

52. See the complaints of Dawid Zamojski, the comptroller, in 1722, against Juda Hasklewicz (Landau), whom he could not control. Akty Sang., 9/9, 12/16.

53. Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy," Frenk, "Le-toledot," p. 244 and passim; Semiatycki, "Ḥezqat," pp. 223, 241; Kahana "Ḥezqat."

54. ADO, I/109.

55. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 873, p. 460; Dubnow, *Pinqas,* no. 474. Compare Weinryb, "Qavim le-toledot"; Baron, *Jewish Community;* vol. 2, pp. 257–59; vol. 3, pp. 186–87, 195.

56. The rate of taxation, based on an estimate of contemporary prices, was generally .33-.66 percent of the selling price. Bałaban,"Ustrój," pp. 45–46.

57. ADO, I/121.

58. During 1758–59, the *korobka* replaced the *sympla.* The total paid for the contract to collect the commerce tax was 19,000 zloties, close to 60 percent of the income of the kahal in that year. ADO, I/71, I/79.

59. Weinryb, "Qavim," pp. 96–98.

60. Of 352 payers of the *korobka* in 1758, 45, or 12.78 percent, paid more than 2 zloties weekly. Of 378 payers of the *sympla* in 1760, 47, or 12.4 percent, paid more than 2 zloties weekly. Of the 45 in 1758, 38 reappeared paying much the same amount in 1760. Of the remaining 7, 2 apparently died or left town, because they did not appear in any record after 1758. Four paid less than 2 zloties, and one reappeared on the tax rolls only in 1770. His name was Judka Mały, and the problem is likely that he was listed by some other variation on his name (e.g., Lewek Plonowicz) on tax rolls during the intervening period.

61. One of the items was a note of the proceeds from the sale of the house of Szmul Lewkowicz: 650 zloties: "na którym miał kahał dług dawnej." Was this "old debt" for taxes in arrears, or was it a mortgage? ADO, I/109.

62. See Halpern, "Review of *Dzieje handlu.*"

63. ADO, I/102. Compare Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 834, p. 443.

64. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 83, p. lxxxv.

65. ADO, I/58, I/109; Ya'ari, *Sheluḥei,* p. 476.

66. ADO, I/79, I/102, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 544, 560, 597.

67. ADO, I/111.

68. The kahal owed interest on 20,000 zloties to the chapter house in Sandomierz. ADO, I/75, I/111–I/114.

69. Opole Lubelski was the chief residence of Antoni Lubomirski, who owned Opatów at that time.

70. During that period, the Council of the Lands customarily met at Konstan-

tynów. The existing records do not note the presence of Opatów elders there in 1757 or 1758.

71. Wiśnicki may have been a *shamash.* He appeared in the records between 1755 and 1770. In 1758, he paid no commerce tax. His *sympla* payments ranged between 15 and 20 groszy weekly. ADO, I/58, I/63, I/77, I/88, I/102, I/110.

72. Marek Dukielski was the *marszałek* of the land of Cracow-Sandomierz from at least 1756 to 1764. In 1764, he chaired the last official meeting of the Council of the Lands. ADO, I/42, I/114; Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 749, p. 415; no. 828, p. 441; no. 838, p. 445; no. 991, p. 513. See Schipper, "Financial Ruin," p. 14.

73. The Opatów kahal owed interest on 6,000 zloties to the church in Raków.

74. This is Yeḥezqel Landau of Tarnów, elder of the Land of Cracow-Sandomierz. On him, see Halpern, *Pinqas,* under Yeḥezqel ben Ṣevi Hirsh Landau of Tarnów.

75. ADO, I/79. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 542.

76. "Na pozwolone świętalne instruktarzem kommissarskim opisane." ADO, I/111.

77. Apparently, the interest was added to the principal. ADO, I/114.

78. This was the skarbnik podlaski; the community owed him interest on 4,000 zloties.

79. Sciborowski was the previous *gubernator.*

80. The community had a long-standing debt to the Moszyński family, going back at least to 1715. Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/108.

81. See Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 64, p. lxv.

82. This was perhaps Marek Rabinowicz, the supervisor (*attendent*) of the kahal. ADO, I/122.

83. In 1758, the rabbi of Chęciny was Yosef ben Avigdor. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 677, p. 360; no. 722, p. 394.

84. *Koróbka* is the commercial tax enacted in 1758; the amount was actually 29 zloties, 16⅔ groszy.

85. ADO, I/79. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 542.

86. Repairs apparently began in November. An expenditure of more than 200 zloties for beer for the artisans working on the synagogue was noted in December. ADO, I/109.

87. Trawicka, *Sejmik,* p. 39.

88. For a detailed contemporary report of one such fracas, which led to some serious fighting, see Gierowski, *Rzeczpospolita,* pp. 131–36.

89. On one occasion, however, the minute book of the kahal recorded the payment of the expenses for a messenger's travel to Sandomierz "to protest against the plundering of Jewish homes by the servants of the marshall [of the *sejmik*]." Bursztyn, "*Żydzi,*" p. 9.

90. ADO, I/16, I/109.

91. Arch. Sang., 428.

92. The wording is as follows:

> Zagęszczona licencyja chłopców, którzy Żydów Opatowskich podczas obrad naszych nachodzić i rabować zwykła i stąd causare tumulty, więc obviando inconvenientiis onej in futurum spondemus sobie, ze zaraz po obraniu JMPana marszałka w kole naszym na uśmierzenie tak zbytniej licencyi IMPanów delegatów, tenze JMP marszałek z powiatów podać po jednemu powinien będzie. A ci cum

adminiculo przytomnych IMPanów obywatelów kongresom naszym takowych coercere i sądzić będą. Ponieważ sama synagoga nie z żadney powinności, ale ex bene placito et libera sponte offert im po złotych 40 na każdy sejmik, któryby się, pierwszego dnia nie zerwał, żeby pacifice handle swoie prowadzić mogli podczas sejmików et securitas ich mościom stoiącym w gospadach miasta żydowskiego była. (ADO, I/2)

Compare Guldon and Krzystanek, "Instruktarz," p. 177.

93. "Na dwa sejmiki . . . na regestrze poselski i deputacki, 1,309 złp." "Trunku . . . podczas sejmiki y insze ziazdy do czego czasu . . . 700 złp." Arch. Sang., 428.

94. Bib. Oss., ms 303, pp. 152–53.

95. See, for example, ADO, I/38, I/63.

96. See the extensive literature on the problem listed in Baron, *Social,* pp. 421–22, n8. And see Sobczak, "Zadłużenie," and the critique of Sobczak's conclusions in Goldberg, "Changes," p. 38f. Compare Hundert, "Jews, Money and Society."

97. Hundert, "Jews, Money and Society," p. 265, and the references there.

98. I strongly suspect that Nahum Sokolow's transcription (Nahum Sokolow Collection) of a list of the debts of the community in 1695 was incomplete. It lists four debts to church institutions and only two to noblemen:

—To the [Bernardine] monastery here, 2,000 zloties; interest on this, 140 zloties annually.

—To the large chapter house here through the Deacon on account of the well-known matter, 1,000 zloties; interest on this, 40 zloties at each St. Martin fair.

—To the small chapter of the vicars here, 1,00 zloties; interest on this, 70 zloties annually.

—To the priest from Slupa, 1,000 zloties; interest on this, 70 zloties.

—To the nobleman Rebulowski, 1,350 zloties.

—To the nobleman Linowski, 1,000 zloties, and 60 interest.

99. ADO, I/79, I/109, I/112, I/114. The debt to the chapter house was rescheduled in Sandomierz in 1775; the interest had not been paid "przez wiele lat." ADO, I/71.

100. ADO, I/102.

101. ADO, I/38.

102. One exception: in 1773 the kahal received permission from the town owner to borrow 8,000 zloties at a rate of 6 percent. ADO, I/77.

103. Baron, *Jewish Community;* vol. 1, p. 334; Goldberg,"Changes," pp. 38–39; Hundert, "Jews, Money and Society," p. 269.

104. ADO, I/69, I/100, I/102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 557, 578.

105. *Volumina legum,* vol. 7, pp. 76, 449; *Akta grodzkie,* vol. 10, no. 7383, p. 436.

106. ADO, I/38, I/109, I/125.

107. The average tax payment of *roshim* was 7 zloties, 8 groszy in the 1750s and 1760s and 4 zloties, 11 groszy in the 1770s and 1780s. ADO, I/38, I/58, I/102, I/109, I/114, I/115, II/123.

108. There may have been a council of the land of Małopolska, but there is very little evidence. To my knowledge, such an institution is attested only in an approbation signed in Jaroslaw in 1671 by "ha-rabbanim de-mdinat Polin Qaṭan." There were

six signatories: the rabbis of Cracow, Lwów, Przemyśl, Tarnopol, Bełz, and Turobin. In the absence of other documentation, however, this does little more than cause puzzlement. Menaḥem Ṣiyon ben Zalman, *Sefer neḥamot ṣiyon.* Compare Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 300, pp. 126–27; idem, *Yehudim,* p. 105.

109. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 485, p. 228; no. 570, pp. 280–81; no. 45, pp. xlii–xliii; no. 83, p. lxxxvii.

110. ADO, I/58, I/102; II/123; and see chapter 1.

111. As noted above, the community also expended funds to feed poorer Jews who slept in the *beit midrash* when they came to town for the holidays. ADO, I/109. Compare the misunderstanding of the phrase "Tym, co siedzą w szkole na święta," by Leszczyński, "Ekspensy," p. 197, n41.

112. The other five were Chęciny, vol. 1, p. 351, Olkusz, Pińczów, Szydłów, and Wodzisław. Compare Bałaban, *Historja Żydów* vol. 2, p. 258; Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 563, p. 271.

113. Bib. Oss. ms. 303, p. 220. Compare Schipper, "Beiträge."

114. "Żydzi zaś między sobą w iakich kolwiek sprawach y długach przed starszymi swoimi Ziemskiemi Opatowskiemi sądzić się y sprawować maią." Arch. Z., 2808, pp. 31, 106. Wyrobisz, "Ludność," p. 10; Variae Civitates et Villae (1699).

115. Akty Sang., 158/17.

116. Halpern, *Pinqas,* passim.

117. Schipper, "Beiträge," which is based on Bib. Oss., ms. 303.

118. ADO, I/121, p. 40 (1745).

119. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 241, p. 94, n4; no. 265, p. 108, n4; no. 304, p. 127; no. 342, p. 145, n6; Dubnow Collection (1721); Mahler, "Documents," p. 647; Bib. Oss., ms. 303, pp. 220ff.; Sokolow, "Mi-pinqas," p. 138; Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 331, p. 140 (1672); Mahler, "Documents," p. 640 (1725); Bib. Oss., ms. 303, p. 224 (1754).

120. Bałaban put the date of the transfer at 1717. *Historja Żydów,* vol. 2, p. 258. But it must have occurred somewhat later, since Yeḥezqel Landau remembered seeing the record books in his father's hosue in 1722 or 1723. *She'elot u-teshuvot noda bi-huda,* "qama, even ha'ezer," qu. 87, p. 85.

121. Halpern, *Pinqas,* nos. 431–32, pp. 783, 790; no. 678, p. 361; no. 736, p. 402; no. 759, p. 419; no. 935, p. 493; no. 991, p. 512. An approbation to *Sefer beit shelomoh* by Shelomoh ben Binyamin Wolf of Pińczów was signed in Stawnica on 2 Av, 5514 (1754) by "manhigei galil elyon . . . qraqa": Binyamin Wolf Segal Landau of Opatów, Yeḥezqel Segal Landau of Tarnów, Yisra'el ben Sha'ul of Pińczów, Shmu'el ben Menaḥem Naḥum of Radzin, Menaḥem Naḥum of Olkusz, Yosef Segal Landau of Opatów, Yosef Segal Babad of Lwów, Mordekhai son of the late rabbi of Cracow, Yisra'el Isser ben Yiṣḥaq of Stawnica. Compare Halpern, *Yehudim,* pp. 104–07.

122. Dubnow Collection. Compare Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel, *She'elot u-teshuvot,* qu. 12, pp. 10b–11a: "The custom of our land is to announce the prospective sale of property three times in the synagogue so that creditors can make their claims to the court before the sale."

123. What follows is based on a Polish translation of the original judgment (now lost). Arch. Z., 2808, pp. 229–30.

124. "Chcą się odłączyć od miasta Tarłowa, a pod inszę zagraniczną protekcję chcą się oddawać." Ibid.

125. In 1788, the owner of Tarłów intervened on the side of the kahal in its claim that the town of Sienno had usurped its jurisdiction over certain villages. Ibid., 2808, pp. 227–28. Compare the "Konsens . . . Józefa Butlera starosty kwiecińskiego dziedzica Franopola inkorporujący Żydów franopolskich do kahału biłgorayskiego" (1741). Anteriora, 214, pp. 10–11.

126. According to Halpern (*Pinqas*), meetings were held in 1668, 1680, 1685, 1688, 1692, 1696 (two), 1697, 1699 (two), 1700, 1712 (two), 1717, 1719, 1721, 1724 (two), 1730, 1739, 1742, and 1752. See also idem, *Yehudim,* p. 130 (1627). And see n127.

127. ADO, I/109 (1752), I/111 (1756, 1757—Golda and Icik, 1758—"trzem starszym do Konstantynowa"), I/114 (1759), I/109 (1760). Compare Arch. Sang., 428 (1721—"Koszta starszych do Lublina").

128. Arch. Sang., 428 (1721). In 1752, 14 zloties, 6 groszy, were expended for sugar, coffee, and lemons for the regent (Skarbu) Koronnego (S. U. W. Płoszczyzyński); 3 zloties, 14 groszy, for lemons for the "Marszał Żydowski" (Marek Dukielski?) on his way to Konstantynów. ADO, I/109. In 1753, "na kongres ziemstwa" for travel expenses and for coffee and sugar, 75 zloties, 11 groszy; for a wedding present for Leyzor of Pińczów, "Ziemski," 3 zloties, 27 groszy. ADO, I/109. In 1756; "Starszym Kahalnym do Konstantynowa jadącym y o defalke podatku starającym się i na drogę prezentą, 285/11." ADO, I/111. In 1757; "Do Konstantynowa przez poslanych Gaude y Icka względem wyderkaffu expens z prezentami 411/9." ADO, I/111. In 1758; "Do Konstantynowa trzem Starszym z furą tygodni 6 . . . na drogę y prezenta dla Podskarbiego [Karol Sedlnicki] y Regenta (S. U. W. Płoszczyński] tudziesz ImPP Kapitana y Sendyka Ziemskiego 589/-." Mead for the "ziemskich generalnych," 10 zloties. Mead for the elders of the region from Pińczów and Nowe Miasto on their way to Konstantynów, 4 zloties. ADO, I/111.

129. Berakhiah Berakh of Klimontów, *Sefer zera,* pt. 2, p. 15a. The same passage was cited by Dinur, "Origins of Hasidism," pp. 113, 117. Compare Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot,* pp. 124–25.

130. See, also, the similar complaints voiced by Margoliot, *Sefer ḥibburei,* pp. 4a–4b.

131. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 231, pp. 89–90; no. 253, p. 102; no. 438, p. 208; no. 698, pp. 379–80. As late as 1767, the commission charged with liquidating the debts of the "Generalności y Ziemstw Żydowskich" called on the estate owners not to grant "protekcya" to their own Jews. Arch. Z., 2808, pp. 235–37.

132. "Ten jest zwyczaj po innych znacznych miastach i synagogach żydowskich w Koronie Polskiej że e medio sui wybrawszy jakowe rozumne osoby na dyspartyment generalny, gdy pisarze generalni żydowscy z prowincyi obrani dla pomiarkowania podatków wieleby ktore województwo i ziemstwo dać miało zjeżdżając się. Dla attendencyi tego dyspartymentu posyłaią tedy i synagoga opatowska przy tym zwyczaju i prerogatywie ma być zachowana i aby także delegatów swoich przez kahał i pospólstwo obranych wysłać mogli pozwałam." ADO, I/121, p. 4. What prompted Sanguszko to promulgate this consent at that time is not at all clear, but see chapter 7.

133. ADO, I/71.

134. ADO, I/42. Sedlnicki's letter is cited by Leszczyński, "Ekspensy," p. 192, n24, but he seems unaware of its context. Sedlnicki attended meetings of the Council of the Lands in this period. Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 64, p. lxii; no. 65, p. lxvi; no. 72,

p. lxxii; no. 698, pp. 379–80; no. 699, p. 381. Płoszczyński also attended meetings of the Council of the Lands in this period. Halpern, *Pinqas,* as above, and no. 841, p. 448.

135. "Ciz Żydzi opatowscy maią dokumenta, że tylko dziesiąta część podatkowania czyli ekspensy wojewódzkich tak pretenduję usilnie, żeby dziesiąta część dla siebie do uspokoienia mieli wyznaczona dla skarbu i wyderkafów. Ja co możności moiej nietylko inne, ale i ten do dalszego czasu wstrzymuię interes względem którego życzę waści żebyś z temi Żydami opatowskiemi uczynił, nadgłosiwszy się do nich należyte pomiarkowanie i ugodę, aby w przyszłym czasie nie nalegali. Oto a byłoby z niemalą ziemstwą konfuzyją." ADO, I/42.

136. Bib. Oss., ms. 303, pp. 220–22.

137. ADO, I/111, I/112.

CHAPTER 7
AUTHORITY IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

1. For a review of the subject in general, see Pocock, "Classical Theory." For an illustration, see Margoliot, *Sefer ḥibburei,* p. 6b.

2. Cited by Pocock, "Classical Theory," p. 516.

3. Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot,* p. 108. There were also more localized instances of this phenomenon—certain families dominating the life in individual communities, like the Gordon and Peseles families in Vilna and the Yekels family in Cracow. See Shatzky, "Review," vol. 23, p. 374.

4. These were the rabbis in Chęciny, Chmielnik, Cracow, Gródek, Jampol, Klimontów, Krzeszów, Lubartów, Międzyrzecz Podl., Nowe Miasto, Opatów, Rohatyn, Rzeszów, Sącz, Stryj, Tarłów, Tarnopol, Tarnów, Tykocin, Żółkiew, and, of course, Prague. Bałaban, *Historja Żydów,* vol. 2, pp. 274–76; Gelber. *Brody,* p. 72A, Eisenstadt and Wiener, *Da*ᶜ*at qedoshim,* pp. 104, 111, 118–19; Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le toledot,* pp. 15–16, 59–61; Y. Horowitz, *Berakha,* pp. 117, 121; Shapiro, *Mishpeḥot,* pp. 202, 222–23.

5. Incomplete sources show the presence of one or more Landaus among the elders in the following years: 1694, 1696, 1699, 1707, 1708, 1714, 1723, 1727, 1728, 1736, 1745 (three family members), 1747 (three family members), 1758, 1760, 1767, 1777. Bałaban, *Historja Żydow,* vol. 2, p. 274; ADO, I/42, I/63, I/71, I/88, I/91, I/108, I/111, I/113, I/122, I/125; Arch. Sang., 428, 526; Akty Sang., 122/26; Nahum Sokolow Collection.

6. Nahum Sokolow Collection. Sokolow's transcription contains a number of elisions, which have been filled in here based on what seems to be reasonable deduction.

7. There have been a number of attempts to reconstruct the genealogy of the Landaus. What follows here is based mainly on these works, supplemented where possible by archival sources. Buber, *Qiryah nisgavah,* pp. 34, 46–47; Eisenstadt and Weiner, *Da*ᶜ*at qedoshim,* pp. 104, 111, 118–20; Friedberg, *Benei Landau;* idem, *Luḥot zikkaron,* passim; Gelber, *Brody,* p. 72A; Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* pp. 15–16, 27, 59–61; Y. Horowitz, *Berakha meshuleshet,* pp. 117, 121; Bałaban, *Historja Żydów,* vol. 2, pp. 274–76; Kamelhar, *Sefer mofet ha-dor;* Rosenstein, *Unbroken Chain,* pp. 389–401; Shapiro, *Meshpeḥot,* pp. 202, 222–23; Wunder, *Enṣiqlopediyah.*

8. Freudenthal, *Leipziger,* p. 171.

9. Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy," p. 26.

10. "Iż substancyi wszystkiey po bracie naszym nie było circiter nad trzydzieści tysięcy y to niespełna." ADO, I/63.

11. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

12. This was one of the arguments marshaled by the heirs to avoid the town owner's invocation of his right of escheat. ADO, I/63.

13. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

14. The document refers to Nathan as Yehuda's brother, but this was probably an error. ADO, I/66.

15. ADO, I/108; Akty Sang., 12/16; Nahum Sokolow Collection; Bałaban, *Historja Żydów,* vol. 2, p. 274; Halpern, *Pinqas,* nos. 499, 505, 508, 520, 552, pp. 234, 235, 236, 243, 268.

16. ADO, I/108.

17. Binyamin Wolf ben Shelomoh ha-kohen, Ṭovei Medinah, was called, in the archival sources, Wulf Natowicz. He had married the daughter of Rekhl Landau and Nathan Neṭa Shapiro. Arch. Sang., 428; Akty Sang., 4/16.

18. Some think he also occupied a rabbinical position in Opatów at some period, either as rabbi or *rosh beit din.* Compare Gelber, *Brody;* Wunder *Enṣiqlopediyah.* He was certainly an elder (*rosh*) in 1714, 1723, and 1727. Akty Sang., 122/26; Arch. Sang., 428, 526.

19. ADO, I/66. In 1728–29, the kahal owed Avraham 810 zloties. Arch. Sang., 428.

20. He died in Lwów in 1702. On him, see Bałaban, *Yidn in Poyln,* pp. 48–58; Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 510, p. 238.

21. Akty Sang., 4/16.

22. The topic of approbations ought to be investigated thoroughly. Were the approvers remunerated? What was the role of the rabbi of the town in which the press was located? To my knowledge, the existing scholarly literature has yet to deal with these questions.

The following is a partial list of works carrying the approbation of Yiṣḥaq ben Ṣevi Hirsh Landau: Shmuʾel Ashkenazi, *Yefeh marʾeh,* Amsterdam, 1727; Levi ben Shelomoh, *Beit ha-levi,* Żółkiew, 1732; Aryeh Yehuda ben Shmuʾel Gershon, *Leviyat ḥen ve-or yeqarot,* Żółkiew, 1732; Yehuda Aryeh ben David, *Gur aryeh,* Amsterdam, 1733; Ṣevi Hirsh ben Azriel, *Beit leḥem yehuda,* Żółkiew, 1733; Alexander Shorr, *Simlah ḥadashah,* Żółkiew, 1733, Yehuda ben Ḥananiah Zelig, *Qol yehuda,* Żółkiew, 1734; Babylonian Talmud, Hullin, Berlin, Frankfurt a/O, 1736; Yehuda ben Moshe, *Tiqun shemirat shabbat,* Żółkiew, 1737; Levi ben Shelomoh, *Ateret shelomoh,* Żółkiew, 1738; Aryeh Leib ben Yehoshua Heshel, *Torah or,* Berlin, 1745; Moshe ben Yaʿaqov, *Mishmeret haqodesh,* Żółkiew, 1746; Shelomoh ben Binyamin Wolf, *Sefer beit shelomoh: Ḥiddushim yeqarim al masekhet yebamot.* Piotrków, 1927; Alexander Ziskind ben David Qantshiger, *Sefer miṣnefet bad,* Żółkiew, 1757; Ṣevi ben Moshe Lifshiṣ, *Tiferet ṣevi,* Żółkiew, 1759; *Sheʾelot u-teshuvot he-geʾonim be-traie,* Turqa, 1764; Yosef ben Yeraḥmiel, *Rosh yosef,* Fiorda, 1764; Aharon Zelig ben Yehuda, *Beit aharon,* Żółkiew, 1768.

23. 13 Kislev. ADO, I/121; Akty Sang., 9/9; Arch. Sang., 441. And see his son Yeḥezqel's reminiscence: *Sheʾelot u-teshuvot noda bi-huda,* "qama," even ha-ezer, qu. 87.

24. Halpern, *Pinqas,* nos. 577, 578, 588, 595, 621, pp. 287, 289, 292, 299, 313.

25. ADO, I/14.

26. Kamelhar, *Sefer Mofet ha-dor,* p. 1.

27. ADO, I/42, I/121; Arch Sang., 526; Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 644, p. 329.

28. ADO, I/63, I/114; Bib. Oss., ms. 303, p. 223; Arch. Z., 2808, 2814; and see the approbations to Shelomoh ben Binyamin Wolf, *Sefer beit shelomoh.*

29. Nahum Sokolow Collection. I think Halpern's identification of this Judah as the son of Yeḥezqel of Tarnów is mistaken. See his *Pinqas,* no. 657, p. 334.

30. Akty Sang., 122/26; Halpern, *Pinqas,* nos. 551, 566, pp. 267, 275, and the references there. Compare Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* pp. 57–58.

31. He was referred to as rabin Krzeszowski for the first time in 1744. ADO, I/121.

32. ADO, I/114.

33. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/110, I/114. In 1768–69, the following words appear beside his name on the tax roll: "na ten rok nie pisany w symplę." ADO, I/102. This may have meant that by that time he was elderly and no longer economically active.

34. There is no evidence that Yosef headed the *kloiz* in Brody or that he was the rabbi of Żółkiew. It seems most unlikely that he was rabbi of the *kloiz* in Opatów from 1716, since he died in about 1788. See Halpern, *Pinqas,* no. 689, p. 373, and the note there.

35. The earliest reference to him as rabin mizerycki was in 1765 or 1766. ADO, I/102. In approbations in 1769 and 1782, he signed as "av beit din Międzyrzecz." Aryeh Leib Epstein, *Soddot ha-tfilah;* Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel, *She'elot u-teshuvot.* In approbations in 1752 and 1754, he signed, simply, "of Opatów." Avraham Kohen of Zamość, *She'elot u-teshuvot;* Shelomoh ben Binyamin Wulf, *Sefer beit shelomoh.*

36. ADO, I/88, I/102, I/110, I/114.

37. Nahum Sokolow Collection; ADO, I/71, I/74, I/122.

38. Gelber, *Brody,* p. 108.

39. Among Israel Berkowicz's approbations are the following (second date is date of approbation): Mordekhai ben Yehoshu'a, *Milei de-avot,* Żółkiew, 1754, 1746; Binyamin Ze'ev ben David, *Sha'arei binyamin,* Żółkiew, 1752, n.d.; Avraham Yehoshu'a Fishel, *Imrei serufah,* Berlin, 1757, 1753; Ya'aqov Yisra'el ben Ṣevi Hirsh, *Shevet̩ mi-yisra'el,* Żółkiew, 1772, 1769; Yehuda ben Asher Zelig Margaliot, *Qorban reshit,* Frankfurt a/O, 1778, 1777.

40. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

41. On Ezekiel Landau, see Gelman, *Ha-noda,* Wind, *Rabbi Yeḥezqel Landau,* and the brief remarks of Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching,* pp. 359–61.

42. There was a family relationship to Mordekhai ben Yehoshu'a, scribe and judge of the Brody community. See the approbations of Yeḥezqel ben Yehuda and Ya'aqov ben Yiṣḥaq Landau to his *Milei de-avot.*

43. On Jacob Emden, see Cohen, *Jacob Emden;* Bick, *Rabbi;* Liebes, "Meshiḥiyuto."

44. Emden, *Megillat sefer,* pp. 40–41, or see the Bick edition, pp. 64–65; Emden, *Shevirat luḥot ha-aven,* p. 50a; idem, *Sefer hitavqut,* p. 147b.

45. Emden, *Megillat sefer.*

46. There is a vast literature on this controversy, which eventually touched virtually the entire European rabbinate. See works listed in n43 above and in Perlmutter, *R. Yehonatan.*

47. Emden regarded a certain Avigdor, *rosh medinah* of Opatów, as his supporter. This was Avigdor ben Yirmiyahu. He was a communal elder at various times between 1745 and 1760. Interestingly, Avigdor had close business ties to Binyamin Wulf ben

Yeḥezqel Landau. This may mean that Binyamin Wulf did not share the anti-Emden sentiments of his relatives or, more likely, that such disagreements were not strong enough to break relationships between the prominent men of Opatów. Emden, *Torat ha-qana'ut,* p. 129; ADO, I/63, I/88, I/111, I/113, I/114; Nahum Sokolow Collection.

48. Emden, *Sefer shevirat,* p. 50a.

49. By giving a *tarkabful* of dinars" (after Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 18a), ibid.

50. Akty Sang., 12/16 (1728).

51. This dispute between the two brothers probably occurred in 1727. Evidence for this is provided by a document of a decade later consisting of a bill of particulars against Krzyżanowski, *gubernator* of Opatów from 1724 to 1736. The list of complaints included an allusion to a disagreement between the *ziemski* (land elder)—that is, Yehuda, elder of the *galil*—and the kahal. In the course of the dispute, the *gubernator* had accepted substantial funds both from the kahal and from Yehuda and his supporter, the rabbi—presumably, Yiṣḥaq. The following year, there was another dispute, this time between the kahal and the rabbi—Yiṣḥaq. He was supported by two of his brothers, Yeḥezqel and Avraham. There was no reference to Yehuda taking his side. This may, in fact, have been the very dispute to which Emden refers, but the document itself includes no elaboration. Arch. Sang., 526.

52. Emden used the pejorative term *bamah* (high place) for "synagogue."

53. Akty Sang., 12/16.

54. S. Ginzburg, *R. Moshe,* docs. 101, 103, pp. 264, 270, 466. Benayahu, *Kitvei,* p. 218; Tishby, "Les traces," pp. 424–25. The term *pathbreaker* (*ha-tayyar ha-gadol*) usually meant an officer of the Council of the Lands. Halpern, *Pinqas,* p. 555.

55. Tishby, "Iqvot," pp. 203–05; idem, "Les traces," pp. 424–25.

56. "Supplika pokorna Dawida Zamojskiego . . . 1722." Akty Sang., 9/9. "Punkta podane od Żyda Dawidka." Akty Sang., 469/1 (undated).

57. "Punkt najgruntowniejszy i najdroższy. Postanowiony od W. Ks. mci pana naszego i dobrodzieja, to jest aby starsi będąc na jeden rok obrani starszemi na drugi rok na tymż starszeństwie niepowinny być ani żaden z nich. A p. Icik Haskiel [Landau] otrzymał ordynans od w. ks. mości pana dobrodzieja aby pięciu starszych zostawić na starszeństwie, a czterych nowych do nich przybrać. Ale ten ordynans nieposmakował mu, zostawił starych sześciu a trzech przybrał nowotnych." Akty Sang., 9/9.

58. Ibid.

59. Akty Sang., 12/16.

60. "Partyi przeszłego rabina." Ibid.

61. Arch. Sang., 428, 526; Akty Sang., 4/16; ADO, I/42, I/58, I/63, I/88, I/102, I/113, I/114; Nahum Sokolow Collection.

62. "Do rozsądzenia finalnego spraw y diferencyi zachodzących między Żydami miasta Opatowa et signata z rabinem przeszłym opatowskim Ickiem Haszklewiczem, oraz dla ustanowina [sic] in futurum dobrego w tejże synagodze porządku destynowanym." Ibid.

63. Akty Sang., 12/16.

64. "Dekretom moim . . . odkłada się ponieważ ciż sami arendarze continuant funkcyję swoią skarbową." Akty Sang., 4/16. There is, of course, the likelihood that the *arrendators* bribed the official. Their contract was for three years, beginning in 1727. ADO, I/14; Arch Sang., 526.

65. Arch. Z., 1615.

66. Akty Sang., 12/16. Compare ADO, I/121. Did Yiṣḥaq have a hand in this decision? There is no support in the sources for such a contention, but it seems not unlikely.

67. Ṣ. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 403.

68. "Disposycyi instantissime." Arch. Sang., 441.

69. ADO, I/121.

70. Frenk, "Le-toledot," p. 245.

71. Emden, *Sefer hitavqut,* p. 147b; idem, *Petaḥ einayim,* p. 14b. Compare Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot,* p. 160; Dubnow, *Toledot ha-ḥassidut,* p. 102. And see Heschel, *Circle,* p. 125, n3. This matter is also discussed in chapter 5.

72. Emden, *Sefer hitavqut,* p. 147b; idem, *Petaḥ,* p. 14b. My translation follows Heschel's for the most part. According to the version of Emden's words cited by Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot,* the controversy led "to the spilling of blood." The word *almost* was elided.

73. See Heschel, *Circle,* pp. 113–48; Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot,* pp. 159–61; Weiss, "Circle"; idem, "Reshit," pp. 60–62.

74. For a summary of Ezekiel Landau's negative views on Hasidism, see Jacobs, *Hasidic Prayer,* pp. 140–53; and see chapter 5, n68.

75. Halpern, *Yehudim,* pp. 277–88.

76. Bałaban, *Historja Żydów,* vol. 2, pp. 273–90.

77. Emden, *Shevirat,* p. 50a.

78. ADO, I/121.

79. Hundert, "Sheqiʿat"; idem, "Discipline."

80. Arch. Sang., 378; Akty Sang., 132/20; ADO, I/121.

81. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/102, I/110.

82. "Rabinowi figę pokazał." Arch. Sang., 378.

83. The term *klątwa* (ban) was used in all the sources. If it was in fact a *ḥerem* (ban) of some type, it was likely one that applied as long as the accused had not paid his fine. There are numerous other possibilities as well, since the ban as a sanction is unknown in Opatów, except for the case of Ṣevi Hirsh ben Eliʿezer at the end of the eighteenth century. The expectation would be the removal of the "right of settlement," which was the usual sanction against miscreants and rebels.

84. "Darmo nie poroście, nie wskóracie nic." Arch. Sang., 378.

85. "Bijcie chłopcy tych hultajów, na funty płacić ich będziemy" or "bicie na nasze pieniądze tych hultajów" or "bić tych hultajów na funty ich zapłaciemy." Ibid.; ADO, I/121.

86. "W tym strażnicy i inni Żydzi z kijami chłopi subordynowani od starszyzny pogotowiu pałkami bili, co się im podobało . . . nie mogłem uhamować." Arch. Sang., 378.

87. "Na wizyją i obdukcyją razów" (22 December, 1744). Akty Sang., 132/20.

88. ADO, I/121.

89. Ibid.

90. Frenk, "Le-qorot ha-ḥazaqah," p. 246.

91. "A tymczasem większa malevoli populi przeciwko starszym kahałowym seditio i przeciwko samemu ziemskiemu starszemu z niektórych okazyi . . . zaszły . . . tumulty. Tedy perioribus zabiegaiąc consequentio któreby z oczywista miasta całego być

mogła ruina . . . chcąć doskonalej uspokoić do przyczyn ich wewnętrznych poznania i wykorzeniania." ADO, I/121.

92. In 1747, it might be noted here, there were twenty-two signatories to a kahal enactment recorded in the minute book, among them both Yosef and Binyamin Wulf, sons of Yeḥezqel Landau. Yosef's name appeared second, after the rabbi; Wulf's name was well down the list. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

93. See chapter 6, n132.

94. ADO, I/114.

95. Binyamin's children apparently left Opatów; some years later, a tax roll noted that his house "was standing empty." ADO, II/73. For Yosef, see ADO, I/78.

96. ADO, II/102.

97. ADO, I/122.

98. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

99. The story, as it is preserved in print, is somewhat confused. The rabbi in question is identified as the author of *Sefer tavnit ot yosef.* However, the author of that work, Yosef ben Avigdor, was the rabbi of Ostrowiec and Tarnogrod; his father was the rabbi of Chęciny. Further, Yosef's mother was not a Landau but was Avigdor's second wife, the daughter of Ḥayyim of Sącz. And see the approbation of Yeḥezqel ben Ṣevi Hirsch Landau to Yosef ben Avigdor's book, *Sefer tavnit,* where Avigdor is referred to as Yeḥezqel's brother-in-law. Yosef, incidentally, was related by marriage to the rabbi of Opatów, Aharon Moshe Ya'aqov of Cracow. See the latter's approbation to the same work. Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 317; Rakocz, *Sefer siftei qodesh,* p. 4b.

100. On this topic, in addition to Weber, I am indebted to Hammack, *Power and Society;* particularly the first three chapters.

CHAPTER 8
POWER AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

1. Anteriora, 140. Ignacy Potocki was a leader of the progressive faction at the four-year *sejm.* He supported the proposals to reform the situation of the Jews in a rather half-hearted fashion and with a view to larger questions. See Eisenbach et al., *Materiały,* no. 25, p. 310, no. 30, p. 312, no. 31, p. 313, no. 56, p. 328.

2. "Z między pijaków . . . [n]ajpierwszej był Janusz książę Sanguszko . . . [on] pił szczerze, przeto mało dawał na innych baczenia." Kitowicz, *Opis,* p. 237.

3. "Punkta od miasta do . . . pp. kommissarzów." Arch. Sang., 378.

4. "Żydzi ciesząć się prawami i przywileiami miasta, iako współmieszczanie, equali juri guadere maią." Ibid.

5. "Jako przeciw nie tylko wierze Świętej Katolickiej, ale i samym prawom koronnym działo by się to, aby infida gens et servituti subjecta miał praedominari . . . nad katolikami . . . a ieżeliby takie execrandum nefas et inconveniens electio rayców Opatowskich in antecesum bydź miały tenquam abominabilis actis interdicitur praesentibus." Ibid.

6. See Mazurkiewicz, "O niektórych," p. 110 (Konskowola, Kraśnik, Łęczna, Modliborzyce); Opas "Sytuacja,' 'p. 26 (Piask, Opole); Gelber *Brody,* p. 29 (Żmigrod); Korngruen, *Tarnopol,* col. 28; Gelber and Ben-Shem, *Sefer Zolqvah,* col. 43 (Żółkiew, Brody, Bolechów).

7. According to Trojan, the *gubernator*'s approbation of the results of municipal

elections usually included the formula "przychylając się do elekcyi pospólstwa i cechów tudzież i kahału Opatowskiego należącego do tej elekcyi." Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 26.

8. "A przytym w zgodzie i miłości z Synagogą Żydowską aby przestawali, jeden drugiemu na złość nic nie robiać, ale we wszystkich okazyach osobliwie około dobra publicznego znoszać się i jeden drugiemu pomagaiąc." Ibid.

9. Wyrobisz, "Polityka," p. 605.

10. The terms in the documents were *instrukcja, porządek Synagogi,* and *punkta kahału.* Akty Sang., 12/16; ADO, I/42, I/121. Compare Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 50.

11. "Wolna zawsze napelna pomienionej synagodze opatowskiey starszych swoich, aby ją każdego roku według praw i zwyczajów swoich żydowskich swobodnie bez wszelkiego od jurysdykcyi zamkowej przeszkody intrygowania się do niey odprawować mogli." ADO, I/121.

12. Hundert, "Jews in Polish Private Towns;" p. xxxi, n50, and the references there.

13. Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 51.

14. Frenk, "Le-toledot," p. 245.

15. Akty Sang., 9/9; Arch. Sang., 530; ADO, I/42, I/121.

16. Golda and his partners had defended their testimony by taking an oath "na rodale w śmiertelnej koszuli." That is, holding a Torah scroll and wearing a *kitel,* a white gown a man wore to be married, for the High Holidays, for the festive meal on the eve of Passover, and to be buried. Akty Sang., 12/16.

17. Akty Sang., 397/9; Arch. Sang., 441, p. 119.

18. Arch Sang., 526, p. 179. In Lwów, increasingly in the course of the eighteenth century, more cases between Jews came directly to the *podwojewoda*'s court than appeals of decisions of Jewish courts. Pazdro, *Organizacja,* p. 30.

19. Akty Sang., 15/30, pp. 4–5.

20. Akty Sang., 4/16.

21. Arch. Sang., 526, p. 199; Horowitz, *Le-toledot,* p. 62; Landau, *Ṣiyyunim,* ʿal pesaḥim, p. 70b.

22. ADO, I/63, p. 4. The signatories as well as the reference to the town owner as marshall of Lithuania make the date given in the manuscript impossible to accept. It says, "11 Aprilis 1705 według kalendarza Żydowskiego." The Hebrew year was likely (5)505, and the translator made an understandable but careless error.

23. Arch. Sang., 354, 357, 449, 526; Akty Sang., 9/9, 448/18. Since some manors and other parts of the *klucz* were sometimes leased separately, it is difficult to be precise.

24. Akty Sang., 12/16.

25. Ibid.; ADO, I/121.

26. Akty Sang., 12/16. A year later (1729), it was noted that these steps still were not in evidence in front of most houses.

27. ADO, I/71.

28. Arch. Sang., 526.

29. Arch. Sang., 378, 441. Compare Homecki, *Produkcja.*

30. Akty Sang., 12/16.

31. Akty Sang., 9/9, 469/1; Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/66.

32. Akty Sang., 9/9. Compare Akty Sang., 469/1.

33. Ironically, in 1714, there had been complaints on the part of the Jewish *pospólstwo* to the effect that Icko Chaimowicz, Dawid Zamojski's father, had been an elder

for three consecutive years and that he was rigging the kahal elections. Akty Sang., 12/16.

34. Ibid.

35. Akty Sang., 4/16.

36. "Od starszych aż do ostatniego którzy krupkę płacą w szkole . . . na rodale w obecności rabina opatowskiego i dwóch wiernych rotą swoią zwyczajną przysięgać mają." ADO, I/121.

37. Akty Sang., 4/16.

38. Akty Sang., 12/16; ADO, I/121.

39. Arch. Sang., 530.

40. Akty Sang., 12/16.

41. "Al admat neikhar." Frenk, *Ha-ᶜironim,* pp. 59–60; ADO, I/121. On the fire in 1741, see ADO, I/122; Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 30. For the 1751 fire, see Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów,* p. 27.

42. See, for example, Halpern, *Pinqas.* no. 216, p. 81, no. 221, p. 85, no. 241, pp. 93–94. Arch. Sang., 441, pp. 143, 168–70; ADO, I/42, I/74, I/78, I/79, I/102, I/114, I/125.

43. Arch. Sang., 441, pp. 143, 165, 168.

44. Many of Lubomirski's instructions were published by Baranowski et al. *Instrukcje,* pp. 523–690. And see Guldon and Krzystanek, "Instruktarz." Part of a 1755 instruction to the kahal was published in Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy," pp. 16–17. See also idem, "Apter yidn," pp. 128–29; Kiryk, *Opatów,* p. 146.

45. Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. lxviii.

46. In addition to published material see the documents addressed to following: in 1756 to the merchants, ADO, I/91; in 1759, to the *gubernator,* ADO, I/63; in 1760, to the kahal, ADO, I/114, and to the merchants, ADO, I/42; in 1763, to the *gubernator,* ADO, I/16; in 1770, to the kahal, the rabbi, and the *gubernator,* ADO, I/102; in 1772, to the kahal, the *gubernator,* and the town, ADO, I/38; in 1774, to the kahal, ADO, I/16; and to the kahal, ADO, I/74; in 1776, to the *gubernator,* ADO, I/73, and to the kahal, ADO, I/74; in 1777, to the *gubernator,* ADO, I/73; and in 1788, to the *gubernator,* ADO, I/69.

47. ADO, I/78, I/79, pp. 2–8, I/102, p. 226, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 525, 540, 595. And see Kozmian's recollection of a conversation between Lubomirski and Zamojski on the subject of Jews. Kozmian, *Pamiętnik,* p. 82. See also, *Regesti i nadpisi,* vol. 3, no. 2032.

48. ADO, I/76, I/78, I/102, pp. 8–9, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 551, 557, 558, 597.

49. ADO, I/69a, pp. 4–6 (1758), I/16, pp. 2–5 (1763). Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 536.

50. ADO, I/102, pp. 20–22. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 563.

51. *Pospólstwo majętniejsze* and *gmin pospólstwa uboższych.* ADO, I/74.

52. ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 575, 577–80.

53. Anteriora, 102, p. 226. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 525. The term used here for subjects, *poddaństwo,* which usually denoted serfs, is not to be taken literally. It was used in a general way to designate the Jews of the town.

54. ADO, I/74, pp. 39–41.

55. Trojan, *Dzieje,* p. 28; ADO, I/73, I/122, p. 206: ordinance of "ha-ḥevre deroykh varkers ve-hitl makhers." Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 615–16.

56. ADO, I/16, p. 2, I/76, pp. 3–5, I/78, I/102, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 549, 556, 597.

57. ADO, I/121, pp. 10–11.

58. "Saxonem nie były pozwolone." ADO, I/16, p. 1 (1763).

59. Ibid., p. 4.

60. Anteriora, 102, pp. 127–28; ADO, I/69a, p. 2, I/76, pp. 1–8, I/79, pp. 2–8, I/102, pp. 11–12. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 524, 535, 543, 550, 562.

61. "Powiedziała że te regestra przed samym jasnie oświęconym księciem Imci będę produkować, ale nie przed wami, Ja nie za was sprawie." ADO, I/122, pp. 229–30.

62. Anteriora, 102, p. 128; ADO, I//16, I/79, pp. 6–8. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 525, 543.

63. Anteriora 102, p. 127. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 524. An "Instrument" to the *gubernator,* dated, like the instructions, December 29, 1754, but not published by Baranowski, insisted: "Aby wszelakie sprawy osobliwie wiolencyje lub też takowey importancyi któreby summy złp. sta nie donosiły, bez wszelkiej do sądów moich czyli jm. pana gubernatora rezolwowane były." Anteriora, 102.

64. ADO, I/122, pp. 1–2, 72–73, 81–82.

65. ADO, I/122, p. 81. The disputants were Alexander (Haimowicz) Rabin Wojslawski and Alexander Józefowicz. Both were merchants, the former was also a *dayyan* in Opatów. The elders of the Lublin *galil* were Jakub Rabin Lubartowski, Marek of Bełżyce, and Szlama of Zwoleń. Jakub Rabin Lubartowski was Ya'aqov ben Avraham Segal Landau. On him, see Halpern, *Pinqas,* nos. 738, 741, 991, pp. 404, 407, 513.

66. ADO, I/102 (1770), I/100 (1771), I/75, pp. 12–16, I/112, pp. 2–9, 13 (1758), I/79, pp. 2–8, I/113, pp. 16–22 (1759), I/102, pp. 19–26 (1769), I/90 (1773). Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 531, 542, 564, 586–87, 589.

67. ADO, I/75, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 531.

68. ADO, I/79, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 541.

69. "Przykazuię starozakonnemu p. rabinowi aby teraźniejszej dyspozycyi i sam w niwczym nie sprzeciwiał się i starszym kahałnym do zachowania częste czynił refleksyj, podatki, sympel pogłównego, czynszu z płaców, oddawanie punktualne i te w kasie w jurysdykcyi zostającej deponować zalecał." ADO, I/102, p. 102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 586–87.

70. ADO, I/90. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 589.

71. ADO, I/38, pp. 139–40, I/102, p. 34. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 560.

72. ADO, I/79, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 542.

73. David ben Yiṣḥaq Ha-qaro, *Ohel raḥel,* p. 1. Compare Shaḥar, "Biqoret," pp. 34–35.

74. ADO, I/102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 564.

75. He signed the contract, in Hebrew, "Shelomoh Zalman ben Menaḥem Mendel." His wife was Sheindl, daughter of Dawid Chęciński. ADO, I/91, p. 151.

76. ADO, I/58, p. 11, I/71, pp. 63, 71, I/88, pp. 35, 140, I/102, pp. 82, 144, 205, I/110, p. 25, I/114, p. 13.

77. ADO, I/38, pp. 143–44.

78. David ben Yiṣḥaq Ha-qaro, *Obel raḥel,* p. 1.

79. ADO, I/74, p. 10; Anteriora, 102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 525.

80. ADO, I/71, p. 105, I/100; see also I/79, I/116. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 581, 599, 600.

81. Anteriora 102, p. 126. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 523.

82. ADO, I/73, pp. 20–21. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 616–17.

83. "Już nie Żyda, ale swoiej religii człowieka za kupczyka trzymał." June 7, 1784. ADO, I/122.

84. On wine, see ADO, I/63, p. 5, I/75, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 533. On footwear, see ADO, I/71, p. 63.

85. ADO, I/73, p. 26, I/125, p. 43.

86. "W kuńszcie garbarskim i szewskim magistra wydoskonalonego." ADO, I/74, pp. 100–101. For a similar case, also involving a Jewish artisan, see ADO, I/78, p. 1.

87. ADO, I/91, pp. 246–47; Anteriora, 102; ADO, I/113, p. 3, I/102, pp. 20–21, I/73, pp. 9–10, 22–25. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 526, 538, 563, 594, 617–18.

88. "Nie machiawelów i oszustów, ale sposobnych podobnych i cnotliwych." ADO, I/113, pp. 3–4. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 538.

89. ADO, I/78, I/113, pp. 6–7. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. p. 594.

90. The fine was 500 grzywien. ADO, I/42. For a somewhat similar case, in which Jewish merchants were more or less bribed to attend a particular fair, see Matuszewicz, *Diariusz,* p. 85.

91. See Hundert, "Role of the Jews," pp. 264–65; idem, "Jews, Money and Society," pp. 261–74.

92. ADO, I/71, p. 37, I/102, p. 100.

93. ADO, I/75, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 531.

94. ADO, I/63, pp. 15–20, I/77, pp. 2–3, 7–8, 13–18, I/125, pp. 53–65.

95. ADO, I/79, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 543.

96. ADO, I/73, p. 31. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 619.

97. ADO, I/42, p. 36, I/73, pp. 33–34, I/74, p. 13. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 620–21. In 1774, five butchers were forbidden to practice their craft until further notice because their prices were extortionate and their meat not good. ADO, I/16, p. 15.

98. ADO, I/69a, p. 2; Anteriora, 102, pp. 279–80 (1758); ADO, I/76, pp. 5–6 (1760), I/70 (1769), I/16, p. 11 (1774), I/78, I/113, pp. 12–13 (1776), I/71, p. 33 (1789). Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 535, 551, 565, 598.

99. In Cracow, one *łokieć* = 0.5494 meters; in Wrocław, 0.5759 meters; in Gdańsk, 0.4724 meters. On the general problem of measures, see Kula, *Miary;* Arentowicz, *Miary.* On the sanctions, see ADO, I/42, p. 37, I/75, I/112; Anteriora, 102, p. 126. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 523, 534. Compare Kula, *Miary.*

100. *Volumina Legum,* vol. 7, pp. 330–33. ADO, I/76, I/90, I/95. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 550, 590–91, 602, 605.

101. ADO, I/16, I/70, I/76, pp. 4–5, I/88, p. 203, I/90, I/95, I/100; Anteriora, 102, p. 127. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 524, 547–48, 555, 566, 571, 582, 588–94, 602–3, 607–11.

102. ADO, I/90, I/95. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 589–93, 603, 606.

103. ADO, I/76, p. 7, I/90, I/95. Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy," p. 17; idem, "Apter Yidn," p. 128. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 552, 589, 602.

104. ADO, I/90, I/95. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 589, 602.

105. ADO, II/99, p. 5. In 1775–76, Koppel and three partners held the beer and mead *arenda.* He was among the leaders of the Jewish Burial Society, indicating high social status. ADO, I/91, pp. 3–6, I/122, p. 282. The fine was 500 grzywien. ADO, I/122, p. 308.

106. As an example: for the year 1771–72, the Christians and Jews of Opatów paid a total of 5,576 zloties in regular taxes and remissions to the town owner. In that year, the *arenda* contracts on vodka, beer, and mead alone yielded 35,700 zloties. ADO, I/38, pp. 68–71, I/41, pp. 1–2.

107. ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 585.

108. See Levine, "Gentry, Jews, and Serfs," p. 243 and passim.

109. ADO, I/16, p. 3 (1763).

110. ADO, I/113, p. 4. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 539.

111. ADO, I/71, p. 37, I/75, I/78, I/102, pp. 8–9, 14–15, I/112, I/113, pp. 9–10; I/116. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 533–34, 558, 560, 597, 600.

112. Eliyahu ben Yeḥezqel, *She'elot u-teshuvot,* qu. 30, p. 24a.

113. These occasions were in 1759, 1769, and 1770. ADO, I/79, pp. 7–8, I/102, pp. 20–21, 96, I/113, pp. 21–22. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 544, 563.

114. Shmu'el ben Eli'ezer, *Darkhei no'am,* p. 19a. Compare Shaḥar, "Biqoret," p. 31; Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot,* pp. 114–15.

115. "Choćby i w sabasz." ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 575, 579.

116. ADO, I/75, I/78, I/79, I/100, I/102, I/112, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 532, 541, 543, 579, 597.

117. On the Burial Society, see ADO, I/73, p. 13, I/75, I/76, p. 13, I/79, I/102, I/112, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 532, 543. On the *heqdesh,* see ADO, I/42, I/79, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 543, 546. On the sale of pews, see ADO, I/100, I/102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 561, 575–76.

118. ADO, I/125, p. 3.

119. ADO, I/118. Compare ADO, I/122, pp. 282–94, a review and translation of the procedures and the results of the Burial Society elections in 1775.

120. ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 575–76.

121. ADO, I/71, p. 105, I/79, pp. 3–6, I/100, I/113, pp. 3–4, 16–19, I/114, p. 11. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 539, 540–42, 579, 580.

122. ADO, I/78, I/79, pp. 2–5, I/95, I/100, I/102, pp. 11–13, I/113, pp. 3–6, 16–17. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 540–42, 558–59, 579, 594, 597, 600.

123. ADO, I/78, I/79, I/113, I/125, p. 1. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 543, 594.

124. ADO, I/38, p. 139, I/71, p. 105, I/78, I/100, I/102, pp. 11–17, 23–25, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 558, 561, 579–80, 597.

125. ADO, I/71, pp. 62, 105, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 579.

126. ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 580.

127. ADO, I/38, p. 140, I/100, I/113, pp. 3–4. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 539, 575, 580.

128. ADO, I/16, p. 11, I/38, pp. 99, 134, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 575, 580.

129. ADO, I/71, p. 62.

130. ADO, I/75, pp. 12–16, I/112, pp. 2–9, 13, I/113, pp. 3–4. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 527–33, 539.

131. "Arcyniedobrze . . . był prowadzony." ADO, I/102, pp. 2–17. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 557, 559.

132. ADO, I/102, p. 99.

133. ADO, I/116. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 599.

134. ADO, I/73, p. 13.

135. ADO, I/116. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 599–600.

136. Shmuʾel ben Eliʿezer, *Darkhei noʿam,* p. 101a; Koidonover, *Qav ha-yashar,* pp. 20a, 100a, b; Shemaryah ben Moshe, *Taqanata de-moshe,* "Mishqal ṭov le-ḥayyim," para. 20. Compare Shaḥar, "Biqoret," pp. 49–50.

137. See, for example, the material cited by Dinur, *Bemifneh ha-dorot,* pp. 109–10.

138. Other town owners also raised these matters. See Pawlik, *Polskie,* no. 134–35, p. 22.

139. ADO, I/76, I/79, I/102, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 540, 541–42, 551, 559. Compare also the complaint in 1757 that Dawid Chęciński had taken 108 zloties from the kahal treasury without explanation. ADO, I/114, p. 1.

140. ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 575.

141. Anteriora, 102, p. 226 (1755); ADO, I/16, p. 2 (1763), I/63, p. 5 (1759), I/70 (1769), I/76, pp. 3–5 (1760). Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 526, 550, 565.

142. Anteriora, 102, p. 226. To my knowledge, this matter has not been investigated by the historians of law.

143. This was the case in Rzeszów. Przyboś, *Akta radzieckie,* no. 49, pp. 25–26.

144. Pęckowski, *Chrzanów,* pp. 21, 27.

145. Wyrobisz, "Ludność," p. 11.

146. See, for example, Gelber, *Brody,* pp. 25–26.

147. ADO, I/69, p. 21, I/69a; Anteriora, 102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 526, 535.

148. ADO, I/73, p. 15.

149. See "Konnotata przedanych domostwie w Opatowie w roku 1770." ADO, I/2. The vexed question of the legal significance of property ownership in private towns has not been answered fully.

150. ADO, I/79, I/102, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 543, 562.

151. See Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges,* p. 31; idem, "Gminy żydowskie," pp. 159–

61; idem, "Die Ehe"; Leszczyński, *Żydzi Ziemi,* p. 58; Pęckowski, *Dzieje,* p. 70. And see the explicit guarantee of freedom of movement to the Jews of Łańcut in the privilege of 1722. Opas, *Własność*, p. 81.

152. ADO, I/71, p. 26.

153. Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy," p. 16; idem, "Apter Yidn," p. 128; Frenk, *Ha-ʿironim,* p. 55.

154. ADO, I/75, I/79, I/112, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 529, 542.

155. "Regestr wydanych córek do cudzych miast." ADO, I/114, p. 22, I/125, p. 3.

156. ADO, I/114, p. 2.

157. ADO, I/102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* pp. 563, 565.

158. The amount of the fine was 1,000 grzywien. ADO, I/74, pp. 9–10.

159. "z racyi, że mimo wiadomości dworskiej wyjechał z Opatowa (do Turobina na rabinostwo)." ADO, I/78, p. 3.

160. ADO, I/42. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje,* p. 546.

161. ADO, I/106. This was a characteristic action by town owners.

162. Mazurkiewicz, "O niektórych," pp. 109–11; Wyrobisz, "Polityka," p. 590; idem, "Ludność," p. 11.

163. Assaf, "Le-qorot ha-rabbanut," p. 35; Dubnow, *Toledot ha-ḥassidut,* pp. 9–12.

164. "Polskie Żydostwo," pp. 9–10.

165. Wyrobisz, "Ludność," p. 11. Compare Mazurkiewicz, "O niektórych," p. 109.

166. Rosman, *Lords' Jews,* p. 73; Opas, "Upadek," p. 28; idem, "Wolność," p. 619; Goldberg, "Ha-mishar," p. 17.

167. "Inaczej niemogać temu wystarczyć będziemy musieli wszytkiego odstąpić." Akty Sang., 9/9, pp. 14–17. Compare Arch. Sang., 378, p. 7; Akty Sang., 9/9, pp. 24–25, 163/4, pp. 4–5.

168. Stone, "Jews."

169. "Il doit donc se borner à laisser aux Juifs la liberté de se decider d'après leur propres interêts et leur volonté." Piattoli had apparently sent Potocki no less than four notes in a single morning in connection with the Opatów delegate. Eisenbach et al., *Materiały,* no. 30–31, pp. 311–12.

AFTERWORD

1. "Ale chociąż zarówno z chrześcijanami należą do cechów usuwają się od świadczeń na rzecz miasta i składek cechowych, dostarczają roboty partackiej, znieślawiają przez to, poniżają i dezorganizują swój własny cech. . . . Żyd . . . działal na szkodę mieszczanstwa . . . w znacznej mierze przyczyni się . . . upadku polskiego miasta." Ptaśnik, *Miasta,* pp. 356–57.

2. Dubnow, *History,* vol. 1, p. 139.

3. Weinryb, *Jews of Poland,* p. 12.

4. Ibid., p. 176.

5. "In the 18th century [Opatów's] economic position deteriorated, and it became dependent on the whims of the overlords of the town and the governor." "Opatów."

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